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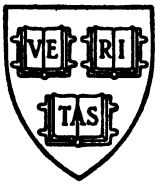

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ENGLAND

AN ACCOUNT OF PAST AND CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS AND PROGRESS

Edited and Arranged by
JOHN M. HALL

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PREFACE

IN planning a study course on England for the members of the Bay View Reading Clubs, and for "solitaire" members, it seemed important that much consideration should be given to contemporary life and conditions. Of some countries their golden age is in the past. Of such are Italy and Spain. There are other lands which live or have lived deeply in some particular field, where the race of each has expressed and may still be expressing its endeavor with so much splendor that all else is of secondary value. Witness how French and Dutch history and art eclipse all else of interest to students. But England's greatest vitality is *now,* and it is expressed with almost unrivalled force in nearly every field of thought and activity. England is, all in all, the greatest moral, political, literary, and civilizing power in the modern world. Therefore, a consideration of contemporary England is a theme of the very first importance, and to omit it in any scheme of study would be a serious defect. But when search was made for the right book, behold there was none! Great libraries were searched and English publishers were interested, but the book had not yet been written.

It was an anxious moment for the management, who were desirous of breaking away from the beaten course and the ruts of all club study since clubs began

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studying England. Finally the plan of this book came and has been worked out. It seemed as if the idea of a book on the subject had already come at about the same time to writers working independently in England, the United States, and France, and that in some of the best reviews, magazines, and recent books they had each taken up in a special way some of the threads which another, with a comprehensive and orderly plan, could weave into a rich and useful fabric. And this is what has been done in this book. While the plan has its disadvantages, on the other hand it gives a work each of whose chapters is the contribution of a specialist. Acknowledgment is made of the generous consent of publishers to use the material, and at the end of each chapter is a key-letter which directs the reader to the last page of the book for the authorship and source of the chapter. License has been taken to correct some parts with the latest statistics and information; also to eliminate unimportant material in the interest of limitations of space; and to do some slight editing in order to unite all the work in a smooth fabric.

J. M. HALL.

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ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CONTEMPORARY England can be best understood if we begin with a consideration of times and conditions a century ago. In this way the progress that has been made and contemporary life which are always relative, will be best judged when measured on the background of the past. A glance at some examples of character and conduct, of life and manners, of laws and customs, of labor and recreation, mainly as seen in London, will greatly help to picture to our readers the condition of England generally as it was in the first year of the nineteenth century.

For ten years the country had been more or less engaged in war which had left its traces everywhere. Food was scarce; there was no foreign grain in the market in those days, the only supply other than that which England itself yielded being the occasional booty gained by the stopping of the grain ships of neutral powers and the forcible sale of their cargoes. Later in the year food became still dearer and scarcer; throughout London and the country food riots became

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prevalent, and so great was the scarcity of corn that the king issued a proclamation asking those who could obtain supplies to use the strictest economy in the use of every kind of grain.

The general food of the poor and the middle classes was at all times much plainer than now, nor had they so much variety. The state of the roads made it impossible to supply London with fresh foods throughout the year, consequently salt meat and fish formed the staple diet during the winter months, and as fresh vegetables for the same reason were unobtainable, meat, bread, and cheese, with beer, composed the regular bill-of-fare. In higher classes of society the ordinary food was also much plainer and coarser than at the present time. There was a prejudice against French cookery, game was scarce and dear, poultry was seen only at the tables of the rich, and the usual fare was beef and mutton varied by mutton and beef.

The enormous expenditures for war purposes made it necessary to impose taxation to an almost boundless extent, and this, in conjunction with the scarcity of food, made the condition of the poor, upon whom taxation always falls heaviest, almost hopeless. Bread, sugar, salt, tea, and malt,— all those things which have come to be regarded as necessaries of life, —were taxed heavily, and so great was the poverty resulting in 1801, that four millions sterling was expended in the relief of the poor in England and Wales.

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The working-classes at this period groaned under equally heavy burdens, were fettered by vexatious laws, and were stung by the reproach that they were but a mere part of the machinery of the country. None of the thousand schemes now in operation for their benefit were in existence, and no efforts were made in any direction to uplift and improve them, physically, morally, or spiritually. The factory system was cruelly oppressive; mines and collieries were worked in great measure by women and children, under conditions that were a disgrace to civilization; bakers, sailors, and chimney-sweeps were left unprotected by legislation. Friendly societies, many of them rotten to the core, were the only legalized means of self-help; post-office savings banks, or their equivalents had scarcely yet entered into the thought of man; sanitary science was practically unknown; education was not a right; ragged schools, reformatories, and industrial schools, mechanics' institutes and workmen's clubs, had not begun to exist; limited liability, enabling the poorer classes to contribute their small capital to the increase of the productive power of the country, was not so much as thought of. The poor laws were pauperizing and degrading; the stamp duties were an effectual bar to the poor man enforcing legal claims; there was no compensation for accidents. The tastes of all classes, high and low, were degenerate and coarse, and the cheap literature of the day only pandered to it. Crime was rampant, and a spirit of turbulence and lawlessness was beginning to mani-

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fest itself. The only resource of the people in self-defence and the only argument they understood was that of violence, and the vast machine of philanthropy so familiar since the second half of the century, was but in its infancy.

In religious circles an unmistakable lethargy had taken possession of the clergy and laity, ministers and people, alike. The cathedrals were little more than show places in which perfunctory services were performed before scant congregations. Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's were never thronged with eager listeners to stirring appeals; none of the great religious edifices of the land were filled, except on the occasion of some great funeral or great public function. The old parish churches were the dreariest and most desolate of places, cold and cheerless; while the teaching and preaching of the Gospel by laymen was undreamed of except by the followers of John Wesley.

In such a state of things it follows almost as a matter of course that crime of all kinds flourished, especially in the great cities. The means for its repression were ridiculously inadequate. In London the safety of life and property depended upon the efforts of the parochial watchmen, familiarly termed "Charlies." At night — for it was not deemed necessary to set a watch in the daytime — the authorities provided him with a watchbox in order that the old man might snooze in comfort, and furnished him with a huge lantern in order that its rays might enable the thief to get out of his way in time. He was also pro-

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vided with a staff with which he thundered on the pavement as he walked, alternating this racket with crying the hour and the state of the weather in a loud singing voice, thus better proclaiming his whereabouts when he himself was far out of sight. In 1805 the horse patrol was instituted to suppress the highway robberies which nightly took place in the outer districts, but it was not until 1829 that Sir Robert Peel organized a new police force which was immediately nicknamed after him " Bobbies " or " Peelers." However, no means existed by which the watchmen of various districts could be made to co-operate against their common foe, the thief, for in the city they were under the direction of thirty different authorities, and the constable of one ward could not interfere to prevent a robbery going on on the opposite side of the street if it was out of his bounds. It is not surprising therefore that with scarcity of food, heavy taxation, extreme poverty, and such a police force, robbery and crime increased to an alarming extent. Pickpockets pursued their illegal traffic in open daylight, body-snatchers rifled the graves of the dead at night, while highway robberies and murders were everyday occurrences. The criminal laws were barbarous and cruel and correspondingly ineffectual, though administered in a relentless spirit. Death was the punishment for great as well as small crimes, and transportation, imprisonment, the stocks, the pillory, and public whipping were meted out to more petty offenders. In the army and navy the discipline was

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cruelly severe, and the principal instrument of torture used on the men was the lash, administered with horrible barbarity.

Perhaps the most significant commentary on all this excessive system of crime and punishment is the fact that in 1800 there were eighteen prisons in London alone; whereas, in 1850, when the population had enormously increased, that number had been reduced one-third. In 1773 John Howard, the celebrated philanthropist, paid his visits of inspection to the chief of English prisons, and what he saw then might have been, with few exceptions, seen at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Nearly every one was not only unsanitary and ill-ventilated, but filthy, poisonous, and over-crowded. Disease was prevalent in excessive forms, and as no measures were taken to prevent its spread, the prison became the death-trap of luckless persons who, in nine out of ten cases, ought not to have been there at all; many of the prisons were totally unfit for human habitations; both sexes were confined therein; and so evilly were they managed that free intercourse was allowed between prisoners. In many prisons the jailor received no salary, but made his livelihood from the fees he could extort from the prisoners and their friends; in some cases he paid a commission for the privilege of holding the office. Not only had the prisoner to pay for his food and for the straw he slept on, but if he failed to pay his dues he would be detained until he did so, even though his term of imprisonment had expired. In Cold Bath

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Fields prison men, women, and children of tender years were indiscriminately herded together without employment or wholesome control. At the celebrated Fleet Prison a grated window had inscribed above it, " Pray remember the poor prisoners having no allowance," while a small box beneath received the charity of the passing public. At Newgate, historic old spot, in 1808, the women numbered from one hundred to one hundred and thirty, and each had only eighteen inches of sleeping room, and all were packed like slaves in the hold of a ship. When Elizabeth Fry visited this prison some years later, she found its inmates swearing, gambling, singing, dancing, drinking, and dressing in men's clothes.

The amusements of a people indicate very fairly the level of their civilization and attainment, and we now look in horror at the things in which our forefathers sought their recreation. Bull-baiting, a most cruel and degrading sport, although not patronized so much by the leaders of fashion as in previous years, was still practiced openly. An interesting incident which shows the spirit of the times was the introduction in May, 1802, of a bill into the House of Commons, by William Wilberforce and Sheridan, for the suppression of this brutal sport. In spite of the eloquence of its defenders, the House listened to the argument of their opposers that " the measure was the first result of the conspiracy of the Jacobins and Methodists to render the people grave and serious," and refused to abolish the amusement.

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Prize-fighting was popular, and cock-fighting a common feature of the day's sport. The great London Fair had degenerated into a somewhat disreputable affair, country fairs were held frequently for the hiring of servants and as commercial markets, and tea gardens, especially near the metropolis, were the delight of the English heart. Drunkenness was almost universal, and dancing booths and drinking saloons were the most prominent features of these gatherings.

The manners of the day were essentially coarse, and morality was at a very low ebb. A dinner party was regarded as a failure if the guests did not drink deeply, and it was considered no disgrace, rather the proper thing, for those who could quaff no more, to seek that repose on the floor which the seat at the table failed to afford. Profane language was the fashion for gentlemen, from the king on the throne to the lowest scion of higher society. Ladies swore orally and in their letters. Gambling was very prevalent in all classes and was practiced by both sexes. The government demoralized the public by their licensed lotteries, and the mischief created by such a system was incalculable.

When the century opened there were vast areas around every important center where no provision whatever was made for the education of the poor children. Not half of the adult population in the manufacturing districts could either read or write. Children, instead of being placed at school, were sent to the factory districts, where they were treated with incred-

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ible cruelty and worked inordinately long hours. Owing to the invention of the spinning-jenny and other loom improvements, the spinners of England were obliged to work in the mills in place of their own homes, and instead of being comparatively their own masters, working when they would, they were under masters who forced them to labor for whatever wages they were pleased to give and for whatever hours they chose to dictate. Remonstrance was in vain, and the only alternatives facing the laborer were these: Water could now be employed to do the harder part of the work formerly done by men, who if they were refractory could be sent adrift by the manufacturer without loss; and as the machinery invented could be managed by children almost as successfully as by adults, their labor could be transferred to children. Thus the demand for child labor was created and the supply was immediately forthcoming. Young children were drafted from the workhouses, child-jobbers scoured the country to purchase children whom they resold into the bondage of factory slavery on the one hand and to owners of brickyards, coal pits, and proprietors of agricultural gangs on the other.

Education under such circumstances was impossible, and tens of thousands of children were drifting into maturity with a painful knowledge of what was evil, unjust, and immoral, and without any of the higher knowledge which makes life worth living.

It is difficult to realize the enormous changes that have taken place within the century in the means of

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traveling. In its early days there were the mail coaches for the well-to-do, the stage coaches for the middle classes, and the stage wagons for the poor. No railroad was yet in existence, and steam although understood was not utilized for the steamboat or locomotive. Many of the main roads were good, but few of them were old, and they developed mile by mile as the system of coach traveling developed. Before that time communication with other parts of the country could only be made on horseback at the rate of thirty or forty miles a day. In the cities the sedan chair was not altogether obsolete, and owing to the expense of conveyance by road the rivers and canals were used much more in proportion than they are now. Yet even a trip by water was regarded as a perilous undertaking, and a voyage to Margate was looked upon as a feat of maritime daring by Paterfamilias, who, it is said, made his will and settled all his worldly affairs before embarking in the old Margate "Hoy," which lumbered down the river at the rate of six or seven miles an hour, and might reach its desired haven in twenty-four hours or forty-eight, according to wind and tide. Shipping extended from London Bridge to Greenwich, but the docks were few and poor. In 1800 the first stone of the West India Docks was laid, in 1802 that of the London Docks, and that of the East India Docks in 1806.

Wherever the traveler went, either by road, river, or canal, he was always sure to find good accommodation for man and beast in the humble wayside taverns or

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the more pretentious coaching inns, which made up beds and catered to the general needs of a fleeting but well-to-do population. The hotel proper was as yet in its infancy and in all London there were not twenty hotels at this time.

Food for thought may be found in the brief recital of one or two aspects of London in the year 1800. It was regarded as the best-paved city in the world, the main thoroughfares being flagged and curbed, with sewers under them and gratings for the water to run into them from the gutters. But the side streets had only "kidney" stones on end and no sewers. Drinking water was, as a rule, supplied from pumps, and was greatly inferior to that used to-day because the laws of sanitation were in their infancy and drainage was shamefully defective. One branch of industry long ago dropped was the supplying of spring water for drinking purposes at the rate of a penny or twopence a bucket. There was no competent fire brigade until 1832, and each insurance company kept its own staff of firemen, engines, etc. There was no gas, only twinkling oil lamps flickering with every gust and going out altogether in a strong wind, and always wanting their wicks trimmed and a fresh supply of oil. Pall Mall was lighted with gas on January 28, 1807,— the first street so lighted in the world's history. There were no matches or fuses of any description, the only means of obtaining light being from the tinder box. This consisted of a flat round box of brass or iron containing tinder made of charred linen or cot-

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ton rags, which after much striking of the flint ignited a splinter of wood dipped in sulphur.

Postmen delivered letters and at the same time collected the money for nonpaid letters, for there were no postage stamps and no letter boxes. The country mail was carried to its various destinations on horseback or in mail coaches. Shops were of necessity wretchedly lighted, plate glass was unknown, and the limited wares in tradesmen's windows were exposed behind small panes of very common glass. Coffee houses abounded and much business was transacted at them in the daytime and much social intercourse in the evening. Many of them provided sleeping accommodations and meals to all comers, while cook shops were to be found in every part of the town.

Nineteenth-century costumes were as varied and curious as they had been before that period. Soldiers and sailors wore pigtails; men of mark wore "Jean de Bry" coats, well padded at the shoulders and made short in the waist in order to show the startling waistcoat beneath it. The fast men of the period wore fancy tail-coats, white satin waistcoats, frill shirts, neck cloths, cassimere breeches with white satin knee-ribbons, and top boots; beaver hats, powdered heads — for which a tax had to be paid — and a quizzing glass dangling on the breast. Occasionally a peruke might be met with, and snuff-boxes still existed, many of them beautifully decorated with precious stones.

This brief and cursory glance at some aspects of

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the old-time social life of England, will help us to more fully realize the wonderful progress made in the course of one hundred years and to dimly appreciate the struggle which has evolved Imperial England from such a slough of misery, wretchedness, and wickedness as existed at the dawn of the nineteenth century.[a]

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CHAPTER II

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

IT will be both interesting and instructive to consider some of the steps in the march of nineteenth-century progress.

The idea of a revolution in the postal system had its origin, according to a story told by Miss Martineau, thus:— "Coleridge, when a young man, was walking through the Lake district, when he one day saw the postman deliver a letter to a woman at a cottage door. The woman turned it over and examined it, and then returned it, saying she could not pay the postage, which was one shilling. Hearing that the letter was from her brother, Coleridge paid the postage, in spite of the manifest unwillingness of the woman. As soon as the postman was out of sight, she showed Coleridge how his money had been wasted as far as she was concerned. The sheet was blank. There was an agreement between her brother and herself that as long as all went well with him he should send a blank sheet in this way once a quarter; and she thus had tidings of him without expense of postage. Many persons would have remembered this incident only as a curious story to tell; but there was one mind which wakened up at once to a sense of the significance of the fact. It struck Mr. Rowland Hill that there must be something wrong in a system which drove a brother

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and sister to cheating, in order to gratify their desire to hear of each other's welfare.

In his childhood Rowland Hill suffered from a spinal complaint, and as he lay on the floor of his home at Kidderminster, he used to amuse himself by counting until the numbers sometimes amounted to hundreds of thousands. His first start in life was as a teacher of mathematics; later he co-operated with Edward Gibbon Wakefield in his Colonial scheme and in aiding the work of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. When, therefore, he heard the story told by Coleridge it fell upon prepared ears, and he determined to see what he could do to rectify the abuses in the existing postal system. He found that letter-writing was the luxury of the rich, the cost of postage being prohibitive to the poor. Members of Parliament could send a limited number of their own or friends' letters free of charge by franking them; members of the government could frank any number of letters and send them free of charge; and as the friends of these men in high places were mostly well-to-do people, they had the privilege which the poor so much more needed. In innumerable details, he found the existing system full of errors of principle, and as facts accumulated he set to work to oppose it, hip and flank. It was a difficult task; the information he required was not easy to obtain; he had to form public opinion, and what was harder work still, to oppose officials who hated the idea of departmental reform. In 1837 he issued a pamphlet entitled "Post-Office

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Reform; Its Importance and Practicability," in which he showed that the state habitually overcharged the public; that where a shilling was demanded, less than a penny was all that was needed to meet the outlay and expense; he argued that the sender and not the receiver should pay the postage — a thing never before dreamed of; that weight, and not the number of pages written, should regulate the cost of transit, and that a uniform charge of one penny should be the rate of postage throughout the United Kingdom.

This pamphlet raised a storm of opposition in the post-office, and in many unexpected quarters. Lord Litchfield, the postmaster-general, spoke of the scheme in the House of Lords, and said that "of all the wild and extravagant schemes he had ever heard, this was the wildest and most extravagant;" two members of the House of Commons took an opposite view and supported Rowland Hill through thick and thin.

A committee was appointed to inquire into the condition of the post-office, and long and harassing examinations were undergone by Mr. Hill, who was, however, so well fortified with damning facts that the committee reported in favor of his plans. Petitions in favor of the scheme had been sent in from all quarters, and public interest had been so warmly excited that a resolution was carried by a majority of one hundred and two, and the bill for giving it effect subsequently passed without a division. On the 10th of January, 1840, the penny-postal system came into force.

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Two important questions were settled in the early forties, one marking an epoch in the history of Parliamentary procedure, the other affecting the interests of all the literary men.

In 1839, Messrs. Hansard, the Parliamentary printers and publishers, issued a report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of prisons, in which report it was alleged that many of the prisoners were found reading certain obscene books published by one J. J. Stockdale. Stockdale at once started an action in the Queen's Bench against Messrs. Hansard for libel, and claimed $100,000 damages. It was pleaded that the reports were published under the authority of the House of Commons, but the Lord Chief Justice held that the authority of Parliament was supreme, but not the authority of the House of Commons singly. A jury was summoned to assess damages and $500 was awarded to Stockdale. This decision was upheld by the Law Courts, while the House of Commons stood up resolutely for its privileges.

A further action was brought by Stockdale against Messrs. Hansard in the same year claiming $250,000 damages, and the under sheriff before whom the case was heard, awarded $3,000 damages. Messrs. Hansard then appealed to the House of Commons for protection from penalties incurred in carrying out its orders, and the sheriffs of London, who had been ordered to seize and sell some of the property of the Hansards and had delayed doing so, were summoned

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to appear on the 17th of January, 1840, before the Court of the Queen's Bench to show cause why they had failed in this respect. To put an end to the troublesome and undignified contest, Lord John Russell brought in a bill (March 30, 1840) "to afford full protection to all persons employed in the publication of Parliamentary papers." This excellent measure passed into law on the 14th of April and has worked without further difficulty. It was a law imperatively required, for the abolition of the slave trade, factory legislation, and other philanthropic movements which demanded the exposure of cruelties and abuses, could never have been carried out without it. Since 1840 the publication of Parliamentary reports has not been hampered, and any and every question has been made known without restraint and without fear or favor, a privilege that has been very beneficially used.

The second question, affecting the interests of all literary men, related to copyright. Blackstone says, "When a man by the exertion of his rational powers has produced an original work, he seems clearly to have a right to dispose of that identical work as he pleases, and any attempt to vary the disposition he has made of it, appears to be an invasion of the right." It is generally supposed that a common-law right of copyright existed in England long before there was any statute on the subject. Certain it is that in the reign of Queen Anne, an act was passed providing that the authors of books already printed, and those claim-

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ing under the author, should have the sole right and liberty of printing them for a term of twenty-one years and no longer; and that the authors of books to be printed, and their assigns, should have the same right for fourteen years and no longer, and after the expiration of those fourteen years, the same right should return to the authors, if living, for another fourteen years. This act was supplemented by another, which considerably extended the period. "Sir Walter Scott had lately departed amid pecuniary difficulties and distresses with which the whole nation sympathized. The sale of his works was the only resource left to his family; and the copyright of the most important and profitable of them, the "Waverley Novels," would shortly expire, unless the Legislature interposed to prolong its duration. Wordsworth, now just beginning to obtain the tardy recognition of his genius, was likely to have the harvest which that genius was about to reap, snatched from him by the same cause. Southey, who was in a similar position, had been deterred from publishing a great work by the apprehension that the fruit of his labors would be gathered by some adventurous bookseller. Charles Dickens, now at the height of his reputation, was actively pressing the measure. But perhaps there was nothing that more influenced the House than a characteristic petition addressed to it by Thomas Carlyle. Out of all the agitation came the Talfourd Act, which was passed, and is the law which in the main has ever since regulated literary property

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throughout the British dominions, both stimulating that literary effort which was the glory of the century and securing to genius and effort the benefit of their work.

In the first half of the century wonderful discoveries and inventions succeeded one another with such rapidity that it is only possible to glance at a few of them without making any claim whatever to a comprehensive description.

How to attain empire in the air, how to make aerial navigation possible, has for some centuries been a keen desire of men of science as well as of common showmen. The Brothers Montgolfier, in 1783, ascended in a balloon from Versailles, and all France, from Louis XVI to the merest street boy, went crazy on the subject. In the same year Pilatre de Rozier projected a journey into cloudland, but the king opposed it and suggested that two condemned criminals should occupy the car. This so offended De Rozier that he told the king "it would not be right to show such honor to criminals," and the king yielding, De Rozier and the Marquis d'Arlande were the first to undertake a lengthened journey, followed, still in that year, by others, who reached a height of ten thousand feet in a balloon filled with hydrogen gas. In the following year the craze extended to England. In 1812, James Sadler attempted to cross the English Channel, but his balloon dropped into the sea, and the captain of a passing vessel found that the only way in which he could

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rescue the aeronaut was to run his bowsprit smartly through the balloon. It was not till 1836 that definite journeys were attempted, when Mr. Green, who made over 1300 ascents in all, succeeded in crossing the Channel, and landing in the heart of Germany after a journey of five hundred miles in eighteen hours.

For a long time the balloon was of little practical use, until Mr. Glaisher devoted years of study to make it serviceable, and has left a remarkable volume containing the results of his observations. On one occasion he ascended to a height of thirty-seven thousand feet, or upward of seven miles, two miles higher than the highest mountain in the world, within the space of one hour. Since Glaisher's day aerostation has been a worthy science.

In 1839 M. Daguerre's "new invention for taking pictures" was publicly exhibited in Paris, by order of the Minister of the Interior. The first experiment in England was made only six days later, when M. St. Croix exhibited the instrument and process in the presence of a select party of scientific men and artists, and succeeded in producing a picture of the place of meeting. Of the many marvelous discoveries of the century, photography is entitled in many respects to take its rank among the most remarkable. It does not, perhaps, produce the same practical effects upon the social condition of the human race that the steam-engine and electric telegraph have done, nor does it bring such mitigation

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to human suffering as the discovery of chloroform — although one of its latest developments, the X or Roentgen rays, has greatly assisted surgery;— but it occupies a unique position in the perfect novelty of its results, and their more direct connection with the world of mind. An American philosopher, Professor Hitchcock, advanced the theory that the scenes that passed upon this earth thousands of years ago have not really perished; but that the waves of light which left the earth then are still vibrating in illimitable space, and might even now be striking, in some far-off fixed star, an eye sensitive enough to discern them. Be that as it may, the practical value of photography in a thousand varied forms is unquestionable. Let one amusing instance suffice. In the early days of photography a thief bethought himself that it would be a good speculation in his way of business to steal one of a photographer's lenses, a kind of booty that would pay as well as a couple of dozen spoons. Accordingly he went in to have his portrait taken, duly sat for it, and when the photographer retired to develop the plate, he walked off with his plunder in his pocket. Unluckily he had not reflected upon the consequences of the few seconds he had spent in front of the lens he coveted. The photographer had obtained a good likeness of him and the means of identifying him were, of course, speedily placed in the hands of the police, to his great discomfiture.

He would be a rash man who would volunteer to

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name the greatest scientist of the nineteenth century, but among the inner circle of the great, Michael Faraday, the famous chemist, occupies one of the highest positions. He taught us so much that we fail to recognize how ignorant we were when he began his stupendous labors in 1829. He, following on the lines of Dalton, taught us the unity of nature; that all truth is but one; that all nature is the offspring of concordant thought; that in nature there is no scale of great and small; that the region of physical science and the region of chemical science are one. "The region of Faraday's discoveries, which entitle him to the gratitude of the human race, is mainly that mid-region between exact physical science and empirical chemistry. His great theorem is this: The things which seem so different are the same under different aspects; and the forces of matter which seem so opposite are but the same forces acting under different conditions; one matter, one force, one law, in infinite variety of development." That was an important day in the history of scientific discovery when at a meeting of the Council of the Royal Institution (Nov. 5, 1845), Mr. Faraday announced a discovery tending to show that light, heat, and electricity are merely modifications of one great universal principle. He did not contribute largely to the inventions which controlled the laws he had discovered; he threw broadcast pregnant seeds of truth into the minds of men ready to cultivate them for human convenience. "It was

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enough for him when he fathomed the secrets of nature, and dragged out of the recesses of nature a divine and luminous thought. Faraday was one of a small band who added to our scientific knowledge a whole continent of truth, who have done for the future peace and wealth of the nation more than conquerors of kingdoms or heroes of battlefields."

The impetus given by Faraday and others to the study of electricity produced some marvelous inventions for its practical application. In 1837 the first electric telegraph was constructed on the Blackwell Railway, and step by step it came into general use, until in 1851 there was laid down the first submarine electric telegraph connecting England with France. To-day "there are no less than fourteen lines across the Atlantic, while all the other oceans have been electrically bridged so that messages can be sent to almost any part of the globe at a speed which far surpasses the imaginary power of Shakespeare's goblin Puck, who boasted that he "could put a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes."

Progress in engineering science went on apace during the second quarter of the century, and daring deeds were done which seemed little short of miraculous. Let one example suffice: On the pier at Sunderland was a lighthouse; the sea made a breach in the pier, and the pier had to be lengthened. To accomplish this it was requisite either to take the lighthouse down or to carry it a distance of four

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hundred and seventy-five feet, to a spot one foot, seven inches higher, at the end of the new pier, and it was necessary to carry it round a corner; a task from which the mightiest genie of oriental fable might have shrunk appalled, but the work was done.

In 1845 there was great excitement in naval and military circles, consequent upon Professor Schonbein's experiments with his gun cotton before the chairman of the East India Company and a number of scientific persons. A rifle charged with fifty-four and one-half grains of gunpowder sent a ball through seven boards, each half an inch in thickness, at a distance of forty yards; the same gun, charged with forty grains of the cotton, sent the ball into the eighth board; and with a fresh rifle the ball was sent through the eighth board at ninety yards. This was the beginning of a series of inventions and discoveries for destroying human life which has gone on without interruption to the present day.

At the same time the experiments for destroying life were in progress, the medical world was interesting itself in new methods for preserving it and for subduing pain. In November, 1846, a great stir was occasioned by the publication of a letter in the public press written from Boston, U. S. A., regarding the discovery of sulphuric ether. One of the first to make use of it was James Young Simpson, of Edinburg, one of the first physicians of his

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day, and he soon became convinced that other therapeutic agents might be employed with even better success. He succeeded in introducing chloroform, a fluid discovered and described at nearly the same time by Soubeiran and Liebig. It seems incredible, but nevertheless it was a fact, that Simpson was strongly opposed on almost all sides. The public press charged him with putting a premium on crime by his discoveries, that assassination would become of daily occurrence, and that it would be applied to every criminal purpose. Others affirmed that the inhalation of chloroform produced so strong a semblance of death that victims would be daily buried alive. The strongest opposition of all came from the religious public, who declared that it was in direct opposition to Scripture "to avoid one part of the primeval curse on woman," and from pulpit after pulpit it was denounced as "impious." Simpson wrote some strong pamphlets in defense of the blessing he had brought into use. "My opponents forget," he said, "the twenty-first verse of the second chapter of Genesis. There is the record of the first surgical operation ever performed, and that text proves that the Maker of the Universe, before he took the rib from Adam's side, *caused a deep sleep to fall on Adam.*" Simpson was on the winning side and the greatest battle of science ever fought against human suffering was won. Chloroform was administered to the queen, practitioner

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after practitioner adopted it, and Simpson lived to see the blessing acknowledged and in almost universal use.[b]

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CHAPTER III

IMPROVEMENTS IN SOCIAL CONDITIONS

WE will now turn to events relating more immediately to the social life of the country. Duelling was in full force during the early years of the queen's reign, and it was one of the first subjects to which the prince consort turned his serious attention. He proposed that quarrels between gentlemen should be settled by the arbitration of Courts of Honor, and although he was not able to carry out his scheme his personal influence did much to suppress the foolish and degrading practice. Public feeling was aroused, and in the following year the War Office issued articles on the subject, declaring "that it is suitable to the character of honorable men to apologize and offer redress for wrong or insult committed, and equally so for the party aggrieved to accept frankly and cordially explanations and apologies for the same." This important declaration gave the death blow to duelling in almost its last stronghold, the army.

In 1836 a most beneficial law was passed in the interests of prisoners accused of felony. Hitherto a felon had never been allowed to have counsel to defend him. Although the prosecution might be carried on by the ablest advocates at the bar, the defendant — perhaps a poor ignorant man who did

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not know how to put a sentence together — was compelled to plead his own cause. Two bills to abolish this injustice had been thrown out by the House of Lords, but in 1836 the new bill happily fell into the hands of Lord Lyndhurst and was successfully passed.

Another humane act passed in 1836 was to abolish the law that had up to that time been in force, which required that persons convicted of murder should be executed the day but one after their conviction, unless that day happened to be a Sunday, in which case they would be executed on the Monday. In the interval between the sentence and its execution they were to be fed on bread and water, and no person was to have access to them except the gaoler, the chaplain, and the surgeon. The old statute containing these provisions was repealed; a much longer period was allowed to elapse between the conviction and the execution, the relatives and friends were allowed to visit the condemned person, and many lives have been spared from the utmost penalty of the law in consequence of that extended interval.

A bill for the abolition of imprisonment for debts under a certain sum, received the royal assent by commission on the 9th of August, 1844, and came into operation the day following, when several persons who had been confined in prison for debts below that amount were set at liberty. It was not until 1869 that an act for the entire abolition of im-

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prisonment for debt — coupled with a retention of imprisonment for fraudulent and certain other kinds of debts — was passed, after having been called for in vain for many years.

In 1839 Rev. Theobald Mathew, popularly known as "Father Mathew" organized a temperance crusade on a scale never before attempted. He already exercised a powerful influence over the Irish people for his fame in organizing an institution in Cork on the model of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, for visiting the sick and distressed, and when a temperance society was organized in that city, he became its president and threw himself into the work with such astonishing energy that in a few months he obtained 150,000 adherents in Cork alone. He organized great temperance demonstrations at Limerick. On one of the days the crush of the people was so immense that the cavalry, called out to preserve order, were swept off the ground. Thousands were anxious to even touch the hem of his garment. At Nenagh 20,000 persons took the pledge in one day, and 100,000 in Galway in two days. After making a royal progress through the west of Ireland, the "Irish Apostle of Temperance" came across to London, where he created almost as great a sensation as in his native land. He administered the pledge at various meetings in and about London, and on the 23rd of August, 1843, visited Greenwich and was received by about 20,000 persons on Blackheath. His serv-

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ices in the cause of religion and humanity were recognized by the state and a pension was granted him from the civil list. He died in 1856. This great crusade had many of the characteristics of a religious revival and may be ascribed to that mysterious sympathetic influence by which it is well known that whole communities have often been swayed, but which can not well be defined. Periodically, since the days of Father Mathew, similar crusades have been started, have been carried on with wild enthusiasm, and have died a natural death.

In a filthy and disreputable part of London, known as Field Lane, but popularly as "Jack Ketch's Warren," from the largeness of its annual contribution to the gallows, a little band of men, mostly poor and all apparently uninfluential, opened a school in 1841 for the benefit of the waifs and strays, the vagabonds and outcasts, of that unsavory neighborhood. It was named the "Field Lane Sabbath School." Charles Dickens visited it and has thus described his visit: "I found the school in an obscure place called West Street, Saffron Hill, pitifully struggling for life under every disadvantage. It had no means; it had no suitable rooms; it derived no power or protection from being recognized by any authority; it attracted within its walls a fluctuating swarm of faces, young in years but youthful in nothing else, that scowled hope out of countenance. It was held in a low-roofed den, in a

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sickening atmosphere, in the midst of taint and dirt and pestilence, with all the deadly sins let loose howling and shrieking at the doors. Zeal did not supply the place of method and training; the teachers knew little of their office; the pupils, with an evil sharpness, found them out, got the better of them, derided them, made blasphemous answers to Scriptural questions, sang, fought, danced, robbed each other, and seemed possessed of legions of devils. The place was stormed and carried over and over again; the lights were blown out, the books strewn in the gutters, and the female scholars carried off triumphantly to their old wickedness. With no strength in it but its purpose, the school stood it all out and made its way. Some two years since, I found it quiet and orderly, full, lighted with gas, well whitewashed, numerously attended, and thoroughly established."

The example set by the good laymen who opened the school in West Street was followed by others, and in Westminster, Whitechapel, Camberwell, and other places notorious for disreputableness, filth, and crime there were set up other "Ragged Schools" — the name was given by Charles Dickens — and great success attended them.

It soon became evident that instead of having separate and independent schools in different localities to deal with the great problems that each school had to face, it would be wiser to have some federation — some headquarters — where all-im-

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portant questions could be discussed and united action taken. So one night in 1844 a band of forty superintendents and teachers, called together by one Mr. R. S. Starey, met in a hay loft over a cowshed in the center of what was then known as the Rookery of St. Giles, and then and there they formed themselves into the now world-known Ragged School Union. A few months later the philanthropic Lord Ashley was elected president of the Union, an office he retained till the end of his life in 1885. Within ten years the committee of the West Street School, which was typical of dozens of others that were brought within the Union, were able to report that they had established "a free day school for infants; an evening school for youths and adults engaged in daily occupation; a woman's evening school for improving character and extending domestic usefulness, thereby making better mothers and more comfortable homes; industrial classes, to teach youths tailoring and shoemaking; employment in the shape of wood chopping, as an industrial test for recommendation to situations; a home for boys when first engaged in places, apart from unwholesome contamination; a night refuge for the utterly destitute; a clothing society for the naked; a distribution of bread to the starving; baths for the filthy; a room to dry clothes worn in the rain during the day; Bible classes under voluntary teaching, through which nearly ten thousand persons of all ages, but of one class — all in a state of physical

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and spiritual destitution — heard set forth the glad tidings of salvation; various prayer-meetings, quarterly conferences for committee and teachers for minute examination into the detailed working of the institution; a school missionary to supply the spiritual wants of the sick, to scour the streets, to bring youthful wanderers to the school, and to rescue fallen females from paths of sin; and a Ragged Church for the proclamation of the Gospel and the worship of God." This was a goodly program, but it set forth only one aspect of the gigantic work these good people undertook. They had in course of time to deal with questions that led to important legislation; and anyone who walks in the streets of London to-day, remembering the state of things half a century ago, can see for himself what wonderful reforms they initiated.

Springing out of the labors of the Ragged School Union were movements and enterprises that have effected an enormous amount of good. As the Union came more and more into public favor questions of legislation were brought forward, and steps were taken to provide for the voluntary emigration of certain young persons of both sexes who had been educated in the schools, while the Youthful Offenders Bill and other legislative enactments were instrumental in reducing crime, which during the past thirty or forty years had decreased no less than seventy-five per cent.

In 1850 the Protestant spirit of England was

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profoundly stirred. On the 24th of September, the Pope issued a bull abolishing the administration of Roman Catholics in England by Vicars Apostolic, and appointing instead two archbishops and twelve bishops with territorial districts distinctly marked out. Dr. Wiseman was created the first Archbishop of Westminster and was raised to the dignity of a cardinal, and in this capacity he sent to England the notorious pastoral, dated "From out of the Flaminian Gate at Rome," a document which inflamed the Protestant fervor of the country a hundredfold more than a papal bull. Writing as though England had been restored to the Romish communion and ignoring the English Church and its episcopate, he said, "The great work is complete. What you have long desired and prayed for is granted. Your beloved country has received a place among the fair churches, which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic communion. Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament from which its light had long vanished."

This was more than English Protestants could stand; for some time past papal encroachments had been regarded with great disquietude; the Oxford Movement had resulted in the secession of Newman and other distinguished clergymen and laymen to the Church of Rome, and the expectation that England woud go back to the darkness of pre-Reformation times, and follow the footsteps of these seceders to

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Rome, had been openly discussed both in London and in Rome. So the cry "No Popery!" rang out through all the land. The prime minister, Lord John Russell, dealt some sturdy blows at his Tractarian foes, and in the famous letter written to the Bishop of Durham, known as the "Durham letter," he denounced the recent measures of the pope. Public meetings denouncing the papal aggression were held throughout the country and petitions were adopted calling upon the government and Legislature to interfere. The queen, in her own gracious and kindly words, has left on record her opinions and feelings on the subject. Writing to the Duchess of Gloucester, she said, "I could never have consented to anything which breathed a spirit of intolerance. Sincerely Protestant as I have always been and always shall be, and indignant as I am at those who call themselves Protestants, while they are, in fact, quite the contrary, I much regret the unchristian and intolerant spirit exhibited by many people at the public meetings. I can not bear to hear the violent abuse of the Catholic religion, which is so painful and cruel toward the many good and innocent Roman Catholics. However, we must hope and trust this excitement will soon cease, and that the wholesome effect of it upon our own church will be lasting."

Some idea of the ferment may be gathered from the fact that between the 14th and the 30th of November, no fewer than seventy-eight works on the

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papal aggression were issued from the press. On the 7th of February, 1851, the premier introduced a bill "to prevent the assumption by the Roman Catholics of certain ecclesiastical titles taken from any place within the United Kingdom," which subsequently became a law. Twenty years afterward the act was repealed, although the illegality of the titles was again explicitly affirmed.

The year 1848 was marked by revolutions in almost every capital of Europe; thrones were upset, dynasties collapsed, the whole continent was thrown into confusion and alarm; and every state was convulsed by violent popular conflicts with the authorities. In France, where the great agitation commenced, Louise Philippe, after reigning successfully as a constitutional monarch, came into collision with the people on the question of Parliamentary reform. On the 24th of February the third French Revolution broke out in Paris, and the king abdicated, fled in terror from his capital, and came a fugitive to England. A republic was established, of which Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon I, was afterward elected president. In England and Belgium alone there was comparative quiet, although much anxiety was felt in England. The Chartist Movement culminated and collapsed; the rebellion in Ireland, headed by Smith O'Brien, was confined to a "scrimmage in a cabbage garden" and ended in the conviction of the ringleaders and their sentence to transportation. And thus England weathered the

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storm that overthrew and shattered so many foreign states. After the storm there came a calm, and with the calm came a hopeful and joyous spirit in England that found its best expression in the determination to gather together all the nations of the world in friendly competition in the arts of peace, at a great international exhibition, which was held in London in 1851.

Up to the year 1856 no English sovereign, it is said, ever decorated an Englishman for being brave. France had its Legion of Honor, instituted by Napoleon I in 1802 when he was First Consul — a military and civil order established for the purpose of recognizing distinguished services whether by Frenchmen or foreigners. During the Crimean War Queen Victoria observed the anomaly of the soldiers of the two nations fighting side by side, some with the highly-coveted Legion of Honor on their breasts, and others without any special decoration, and she instituted by royal warrant on the 29th of January, 1856, the "Order of the Victoria Cross" for soldiers and sailors of any rank for a single act of bravery in the presence of the enemy. The decoration carries with it a pension of about fifty dollars yearly for each noncommissioned officer and private, with a further annuity of twenty-five dollars for every additional bar, such bar being added upon each fresh act of bravery equal to the first.

One of the most interesting functions over which Her Majesty ever presided was on the 26th of June,

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1857, when thousands upon thousands of people assembled in Hyde Park to witness her fasten with her own hands the decoration on the breasts of sixty-one Crimean heroes of all ranks and ages. Forty-seven were given to the army, twelve to the navy, and two to the marines. This cross links all men together; "it stands as a symbol of the highest that man can attain, it places the hearts and the generous impulses of all men on a common level, and the words "For Valour" are as dear to the noble duke as to the humblest unlettered private."

In the field of philanthropy the greatest activity prevailed; and many harvests were gathered in from seed sown in the earlier half of the century. The claims of children employed in brickfields were for many years advocated by an eccentric and enthusiastic philanthropist, George Smith of Coalville, whose persistency at last obtained legislation on their behalf. His own early experience in life had been in the brickfields, and he once wrote: "At nine years of age, my employment consisted in continually carrying about forty pounds of clay upon my head from the clay heap to the table on which the bricks were made. When there was no clay I had to carry the same weight of bricks. This labor had to be performed almost without intermission, for thirteen hours daily. Sometimes my labors were increased by my having to work all night at the kilns. On one occasion I had to perform a very heavy amount of labor. After my customary day's work I

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had to carry twelve hundred nine-inch bricks from the maker to the floors on which they are placed to harden. The total distance thus walked by me that night was not less than fourteen miles; the total quantity of clay thus carried by me was five and one-half tons. For all this labor I received 6d!" Success crowned the efforts of George Smith to procure legislation, and on the 1st of January, 1872, thousands of little white slaves were set free by the coming into force of an act prohibiting any female under sixteen or child under ten, from being employed in the manufacture of bricks and tiles.

Lord Shaftesbury was still continuing his labors on behalf of the poor and oppressed in general and children in particular. An act for regulating the labor of juveniles in workshops was passed, and another dealing with the iniquitous system of "agricultural gangs" — the first statutory recognition of the rights of rural children to have equal educational privileges with the children of the towns — swept from the face of the land the long series of evils in regard to the cruel employment of children that could be dealt with by industrial legislation.

Among the greatest of social agitations was that for the housing of the poor. London was in a state of transformation, and sanitary scientists, in view of the herding together of enormous populations in the slums of Westminster, Holborn, and elsewhere, recommended the pulling down of the "rookeries"

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that were the source of immense mischief to the health of London; and whole streets and in some cases almost whole districts were condemned. This raised the question of what was to be done for the accommodation of the working people who were to be dislodged, and for many years the question was before Parliament. Excellent results followed. The question of the dwellings of the poor passed from individual care to companies, speculative societies, and finally into the region of "Imperialism," greatly assisted by organizations such as those originated by Sir Sidney Waterlow, Miss Octavia Hill, and others. Then came the great agitation of 1883-4 when the Royal Commission on the housing of the poor was appointed with the Prince of Wales as its most active member, culminating in Lord Salisbury's act of 1885, "The Housing of the Working Class Act."

A great impetus was given to the construction of model lodging-houses for the poor by Mr. George Peabody, an American merchant, who in March, 1862, announced a gift to the poor of London of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars to be placed in the hands of trustees and to be applied at their discretion to the construction of improved dwellings for the poor, which should combine in the utmost possible degree the essentials of healthfulness, comfort, social enjoyment, and economy. Subsequent gifts by this noble-minded philanthropist aggregated nearly $4,250,000.

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While these efforts were being made for the accommodation of the poor in London, similar efforts were in progress for accommodating laborers and other workingmen of the country adjacent to London. A great boon for assisting them to obtain healthful homes outside the metropolis was the Parliamentary enactment, introduced by Lord Derby in 1864, that on every railway leading into the metropolis provision should be made for the accommodation of the working class by cheap trains.[c]

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CHAPTER IV

FURTHER REFORMS AND MORAL EFFORTS

IN 1873 public feeling was much agitated by the revelations made by Mr. Samuel Plimsoll, as to the perils of the British seamen consequent upon the overloading of ships and the use of unseaworthy vessels. He first exposed the rotten condition of many of the coal-bearing coasters. In the six years previous to his entering Parliament, as many as 6,357 coasting vessels had been wrecked, with immense loss of life. This led to the large question of merchant shipping generally. Mr. Plimsoll gathered information from all sources and published in a book entitled "Our Seamen," a fierce denunciation of shipowners, whom he described as little better than murderers. His revelations of the cranky coffin-ships, insured far above their value for the purpose of being lost, stirred up the feeling of all right-minded people. The whole conscience of the country woke up. The immediate result of his efforts is best stated in his own words: "Under one short act passed in 1875, confirmed and extended in 1876, nearly five hundred vessels, every one of them as rotten as a pear, were broken up." Among the many improvements that Plimsoll's efforts in Parliament procured were these: that ships are no longer overloaded as they were; Board of Trade inspection has thinned out

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the fleet of coffin-ships; the risks from shifting cargoes and piled-up deck loads are greatly reduced; the seaman's food is better; crimping is given short shrift; and the payment of seaman's wages has been put upon a better footing; over-insurance and under-manning can no longer be practiced with impunity. For these and other benefits the name of Samuel Plimsoll is honored and beloved by every seafaring man.

Trades-unions were regarded in the earlier half of the century with profound aversion by nearly all the employing and capitalist classes, and the high ground was taken that they were opposed to morality no less than to sound principles of political economy. But by degrees they came to be tolerated, then sanctioned, and afterward encouraged. When the workingmen found that these combinations gave them a giant's strength, at first they used it tyrannously like a giant, and many outrages occurred which brought trades-unionism into very evil repute. In 1875, however, legislative measures placed masters and workmen on an absolute equality as regards all matters of contract, and established the principle that the right of a combination was identical with the right of an individual, and that "no combination of persons is to be deemed criminal if the act proposed to be done would not be criminal if done by one person."

The period we have under consideration (1875-1900) was remarkable for the frequency of great

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strikes, and for the amount of public anxiety they occasioned. It would be tedious to tell their story in detail; they affected, at one time or another, almost everybody in every branch of trade, and public interest or public anger was excited on behalf of many of them. So far and wide did the spirit of striking extend, that in October, 1889, there were strikes in several of the large towns by schoolboys, who demanded shorter hours, half holiday on Wednesday, no caning, and no homework! On the 1st of May, 1890, "Labor Day" was instituted, when demonstrations took place in London and in most of the other European capitals, the chief object of the demonstrators being to urge the justice of an eight-hour day by legislative measures.

We now turn to glance at some of the philanthropic movements which have marked the period under review. Philanthropy entered upon a new stage; it had already dealt with sanitary laws, the dwellings of the poor, the provision of suitable elementary education, restriction in the hours of labor, inspection of mines, factories, and shops, and these had all passed from individual effort to important questions of imperial policy. Then there set in a new style of philanthropy, an endeavor to make the already improved homes more beautiful, to supply social enjoyments that should fill the larger number of hours of leisure, to make life more livable by cultivating and improving the tastes of the people, to provide more domestic and social comforts, and to turn

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the dreary monotony of unbroken dulness into a life of pleasantness. The erection of the first cab shelter in 1875 marks, to a certain extent, the dawn of this new philanthropy.

The idea of sending the poor little waifs and strays of our great cities for "a day in the country," with whomsoever it originated, was an excellent one; but the idea of establishing "Holiday Homes," where they could drink in fresh air for a week or a fortnight at a time and get accustomed to the sights and sounds of country life, was better. The movement took hold of the imagination of the richer dwellers of the great cities, and tens of thousands of little pale-faced children are now provided for annually in beautiful country places and by the seaside. A further development of the movement has been the establishment of seaside and country camps for boys, which has given a great impetus to such useful societies as the Church Lads' Brigade, the Working Lads' Brigade, and other similar institutions.

The preservation of open places,—"lungs for London" and other large cities—has occupied the attention of philanthropists, and many important societies have been formed for securing and maintaining them; generous bequests and costly gifts have been made of public parks, such as Waterlow Park at Highgate and Brockwell Park at Herne Hill, while the corporation of London has succeeded in securing for the use of Londoners forever, such de-

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lightful open spaces as Burnham Beeches and West Wickham Common. Playgrounds for children are now to be found close to the densely populated parts of our great cities, and the one at Wavertree in Liverpool, the gift of an anonymous donor, may be regarded as idealistic. In parts of Scotland a limited liability company began, in 1906, organized work to provide cheap and clean vacation outings and homes for poorly paid workers, and everywhere in the kingdom the impulse to befriend the poorer classes seems to be growing through many organized efforts.

The question of small allotments of land for workingmen — mainly with a view of checking the depopulation of the rural districts — has been dealt with by the Legislature, and has been taken up with enthusiasm in many places, with very beneficial results in the majority of instances.

The new philanthropy may be said to have culminated on the 14th of May, 1887, when Queen Victoria opened the People's Palace at Mile End. Mr. (afterward Sir) Walter Besant had applied himself to the discovery of a remedy for the deadly dulness and dreariness, the ignorance and the squalid pleasures, of the dwellers of the East End of London, and incorporated his views in a novel entitled "All Sorts and Conditions of Men," in which he drew a picture of an ideal institution for the working classes. The idea struck home and the great People's Palace at Mile End was the practical realization of the

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novelist's dream. It was a bridge to cross the gulf that separated the lowly East from the aristocratic West in intellectual pleasures, in art, in knowledge, and in the love of the beautiful; and it placed music and painting, literature and science, and good healthy amusement within the reach of the people. The scheme has borne excellent fruit, and to its influence may be traced the rise of popular polytechnic institutions now to be found in all of our great cities and suburbs, for affording opportunities of technical education and rational amusement.

Of late years the early-closing movement has made rapid advancement; provision has been made for the more comfortable accommodation of women workers in shops and warehouses; establishments unknown in earlier days have been opened for the sale of cheap and wholesome meals; the cost of travel for short distances on tram or omnibus has been lessened; the means of procuring respectable lodgings in "flats" or "sets" have become almost universal; and the craving for intellectual advancement has been satisfied by the institution of free libraries.

One of the very best of the many philanthropic institutions originated during the latter part of the century, is the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, founded by the Rev. Benjamin Waugh, in 1884. The early work of the society was greatly assisted by men of very diverse views, but of one heart, such as the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and Mr. Labouchere of *Truth,* Mr. Herbert

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Spencer and the Chief Rabbi Dr. Adler,— and its operations were open to Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Christian, on equal terms. One of its great achievements was to procure the passing of the act by which fundamental changes were made in the standing of English children, entitling them, as a civil right, to be clothed, fed, and properly treated; to admission into courts; to limited hours of labor; to new guardianship when that was for their welfare; and to other great benefits never possessed before. The society became "the solicitor, chief constable, and public prosecutor for every child — the smallest and poorest in the land," and it has been instrumental in affirming and establishing the rights of children in many thousands of cases.

"Dr. Barnardo's Homes" have for many years excited and still excite great wonder and admiration. Five thousand orphan waifs are always being maintained, educated, and taught trades here; destitute children of any age, creed, sex, or nationality are eligible to the homes, and also those who are deaf or dumb, blind or crippled; lodging-houses and night refuges, with "ever open doors," are accessible day and night to homeless waifs and strays; technical training in some one of the fourteen handicrafts carried on in the homes is given to every lad capable of receiving it, and girls are carefully trained for domestic service.

A closely related movement that has begun, and considering the larger brotherly feeling that is

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growing, is sure to extend, is the municipal pension idea. In 1907 Edinburg starts a system which will place on a pension list every employee of the municipality who becomes incapacitated after reaching the age of sixty years, the pension to be in proportion according to the employee's wages.

Whatever opinion may be held with regard to the religious side of the operations of the Salvation Army, there can hardly be two opinions as to the enormous value of its philanthropic work. The Salvation Army began in 1865, when one man and his wife, General and Mrs. Booth, took up their stand as street-preachers on Mile End Green. Its progress was comparatively slow, and in 1877 there were only thirty corps, with thirty-six officers. By 1906 it had covered the world with its organizations; 7,210 corps were scattered over forty-nine different countries and colonies, with 16,857 officers, cadets, and employees exclusively devoted to the work, and many thousand non-commissioned officers rendering voluntary service. From mere force of numbers the Salvation Army can not be ignored by any section of the community, either as an avowed spiritual organization, a philanthropic agency, or a political influence.

In 1890 General Booth published a remarkable book, entitled "Darkest England, and the Way Out," in which he propounded a gigantic scheme intended to solve "the problem of the unemployed." The scheme was to consist "in the formation of these people into self-helping and self-sustaining com-

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munities, each being a kind of co-operative society or patriarchal family, governed and disciplined on the principles which have already proved so effective in the Salvation Army." These communities were to be called "Colonies," and were to comprise: (1) The City Colony,— a number of institutions to act as Harbors of Refuge for all and any who have been shipwrecked in life, character, or circumstances. (2) The Farm Colony,— a settlement on an estate in the country, in the culture of which the "colonists" would find employment and obtain support while the processes of reformation would be carried forward and a knowledge of agriculture acquired. (3) The Over-Sea Colony,— to be populated by those who had passed through the "city" and "farm" colonies and so "to lay the foundations, perchance, of another empire to swell the vast proportions in later times." To start the scheme Mr. Booth appealed for $500,000. The sum was readily obtained. Mr. Booth then announced that in order to carry on the scheme he must have $150,000 a year for the purpose. As the great undertaking has been continued to this day with ever-growing success, we may presume that whatever he may ask for he will be sure to have.

There are few who will deny that philanthropy never stood in a more erect and vigorous attitude than it does to-day; there are few who will deny that the religious life of the people is less vigorous than in an earlier part of the century. Without en-

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croaching on the province of the preacher, and without any leaning to sectarianism, it may be said here, as a matter of observation of the "life" of the century, that in religious affairs, form appears to be taking the place of power, outward service supplanting the inward spirituality, the religion of fashion ousting the religion of devotion, the outward and visible signs over-shadowing the inward and spiritual graces.

The spirit of the Oxford Movement has spread in a thousand different directions and developed into as many ramifications; the free Christian churches have become more united and therefore more powerful; while efforts to revive the religious spirit have been as numerous as they have been phenomenal. In 1875, D. L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey commenced a series of "Revival Gatherings" in the Agricultural Hall, Islington, and subsequently at Eton and at the Haymarket Theater. At the latter place the afternoon gatherings were attended by many of the aristocracy, and on one occasion by the Princess of Wales. These evangelists were unlettered men, without any theological training, not belonging to any denomination, yet thousands upon thousands of people of all degrees in station and mental culture flocked to hear them. It was a phenomenon. So also was the ministry of Charles Haddon Spurgeon, at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, Newington Causeway, who died at Mentone on the 31st of January, 1892. He and Cardinal Manning, both good

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men of exceptional spiritual gifts, died about the same time. They were the acid and the alkali that had created much of the religious effervescence of the times. Spurgeon detested popery, the theater, and the "higher criticism" with a perfect detestation. In his latter days he considered that the church and the world were alike on the down grade, and he despaired of being able to do more than utter a protest against the tendency of the times. But he had rendered yeoman's service in his day, in his splendid stand for Protestantism, in his consistent proclamation of what he conceived to be the "Gospel," and in his noble-hearted philanthropy. He preached and printed thousands of sermons, and left behind him almost as many more, which have been circulated and eagerly read in every English-speaking land under the sun.

A revision of the authorized version of the Bible of 1611 was mooted in Parliament as early as 1856, and was fully discussed by both Houses on convocation in 1870, when it was resolved to form two companies of scholars, one for the revision of the authorized version of the Old Testament, and one for the revision of the same version of the New Testament. Two committees of American scholars were also appointed to act with the two English companies on the basis of the principles and rules drawn up by the Committee of Convocation. The work of revision of the whole Bible was commenced in 1870 and completed in 1884.

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Great fears were entertained in certain quarters that a revised version of the Holy Scripture would create uncertainty in people's minds as to which was and which was not a true and reliable version, but these fears were dissipated on publication, and the popular verdict took this form: that the revised version was of little or no use to the unlearned masses, while to the learned few it was insufficient; that it went too far in some places in interfering with the grand and simple beauty of the authorized version, and did not go far enough in criticism to make the giving up of the other worth while.

We have already told the story of the main events in the political and national life of the nineteenth century.

Expansion of territory went on apace. In 1874 the king of the Fiji Islands ceded his country to the British government, represented at the time by Sir Hercules Robinson, commanding the "Dido," and in February, 1875, the colony of Fiji was constituted and a governor appointed. In 1884 all the southern coasts of New Guinea were annexed, and in 1886, after the surrender of King Theebaw, Lord Dufferin proclaimed the annexation of Upper Burmah to the British Empire. In 1888 the flag was hoisted on the Harvey or Cook's Islands in the Pacific Sea, and in 1889 on the Suwarrow Islands. In 1890 the British government made an agreement with the German government defining the respective spheres of influence in Africa; at the same time

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Heligoland was ceded to Germany and the protectorate of Zanzibar granted to Great Britain.

During the five years (from April, 1880, to June, 1885) that Mr. Gladstone was premier, some important measures were passed, notwithstanding that Irish questions and foreign affairs stood in the way of better things. The most important measure was the Reform Bill of 1884, for household suffrage in the counties, or, in other words, for the inclusion of the agricultural laborers by which the electorate of the United Kingdom was raised to over five millions, and the number of members in the House of Commons was raised to 670.

The two great leaders of the political world passed away during the period under consideration. On the 19th of April, 1881, Lord Beaconsfield went peacefully to his last rest, and was buried at Hughenden Church, near High Wycombe. His had been a dazzling career; he had charmed the world with his wit and wisdom, his romances and adventures, his daring successes and disastrous blunders, and there was great regret when he passed away. Mr. Gladstone survived Lord Beaconsfield for seventeen years. Although he withdrew from public life on the 1st of March, 1894, on the ground that advancing years had deprived him of the physical strength that could have enabled him to defy the fatigue of Parliamentary duties, he maintained to the last the glorious strength and vigor of his great intellect, and the grandeur of his eloquence was undiminished.

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His industry never failed; from his retirement he watched and attempted to aid with his powerful pen the claims of Greece, the rights of Christians under Turkish rule, and "all oppressed people rightfully struggling to be free." In the winter of 1897, visits to Cannes and Bournemouth failed to revive his declining strength; he returned to Hawarden, and died on the 19th of May, 1898 (Ascension Day), at the age of eighty-eight. Yielding to the demand of the nation, his family consented to the removal of his body to London, where, for two days, it lay in state in Westminster Hall, and on the 28th of May was interred in Westminster Abbey, two of the pall-bearers on the occasion being the Prince of Wales and Duke of York.

When the nineteenth century began, the population of the United Kingdom was 16,345,646; at its close it was 40,921,371. The population of the rest of the British Empire was in 1800, 2,500,000; in 1900, 256,000,000. The population of London in 1800 was 959,000; in 1900, 4,546,752. The area of London in 1800 was barely 9½ square miles; at the close of the century the area of London comprised within the boundaries of the London County Council was 118 square miles. "Greater London," practically non-existent at the beginning of the century, has now a population of 6,528,434.

As regards the territory and population of the whole of the British Empire at the close of the century, the position is an altogether unprecedented

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one. A recent writer says: "Including Egypt, which is a veiled protectorate; the Soudan, which is openly, frankly, and directly under British control; and the Orange and Transvaal States, the British Empire at the century's end comprised an area of about 13,000,000 miles and a population of about 440,000,000. The Transvaal alone is as large as Great Britain and Ireland. Without Egypt and the old Egyptian Soudan, the combined area of which is equal to India, the British Empire is thrice the size of Europe. If, as is supposed, the population of the globe amounts to seventeen or eighteen millions, it follows that for material and moral welfare of every fourth human being in the world, the British Empire is in some form responsible."

And now our review is done. We have told the story of the "life" of the most remarkable period of human history, the most wonderful of all the centuries, and have endeavored to trace the chief lines of human endeavor; the changes effected in science, in the arts, in all possibilities of human intercourse; the extension of knowledge and the progress of thought. In the retrospect of the nineteenth century there are many things still left to cause regret and fear; but the century closed with a glorious heritage of hope that progress will continue, that knowledge will grow from more to more, and that as

> "God's in His Heaven,
> All's right with the world." *d*

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CHAPTER V

HOW ENGLAND IS GOVERNED

WHOEVER now writes an exposition of the powers of the English government must acknowledge his obligations to Mr. Walter Bagehot and Professor Thomas F. Moran, whose works are remarkable for their clear, illuminating, and authoritative qualities. Professor Moran has written so delightfully on this subject in his "Theory and Practise of the English Government" that his ideas, often his own words, have been used in the preparation of this chapter.

"'England,' he says, 'has taken the lead in solving the problem of constitutional government; of government, that is, with authority, but limited by law, controlled by opinion, and respecting personal right and freedom. This she has done for the world, and herein lies the world's chief interest in her history.' These are the opening words of Goldwin Smith's recent and brilliant work, 'The United Kingdom.' These two sentences set forth admirably the great debt which the world owes to the English people. As we note the progress of civilization from its beginnings on the banks of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, we are led to the conclusion that every nation has made its peculiar contribution to this progress. Each seems to

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have contributed something to those forces which tend to civilize,— something to the general good; and we of the present generation are the inheritors of these contributions. The Egyptians and the Chaldeans furnished the humble beginnings of literature, science, and art; the special mission of the Hebrews was to teach religion; the Phœnicians were the merchants, navigators, and colonizers of the Orient; the Greeks excelled in art and the Romans in law. In like manner the solution of the problem of constitutional government has been the great contribution of the English people to the world's civilization. It is true that England's achievements in agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing are of no mean order and have added much to the welfare of the race; yet her supreme contribution has been along governmental lines.

An exposition of the English government must always be attended by difficulties not experienced in a study of American government, because the English constitution, unlike our own, is exceedingly extensive and largely unwritten. The American form of government is comprised in a definite number of articles and clauses, while that of England is made up of a series of great documents like the Magna Charta, scattered over centuries of time, of acts of Parliament, of decisions of courts, and of various customs which have slowly crystalized into the law of the land. These various component parts of the English Constitution have never been

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collected and reduced to writing and probably never will be. The labor of collecting and unifying these scattered fragments would be a stupendous task, and the work could never be complete even for a single day, as Acts of Parliament affecting the fundamental law of England would still continue to be passed, and the decisions of the courts would still constitute an uninterrupted stream. The American Constitution can be amended only in the two ways specified in the document itself, and changes in our fundamental law are by no means easy. In England, however, no such difficulties present themselves, as Parliament may alter any law with equal facility. As Sir William R. Anson puts it, 'Our Parliament can make laws protecting wild birds or shell-fish, and with the same procedure could break the connection of church and state or give political power to two millions of citizens, and redistribute it among new constituencies.' When an Englishman says that a proposed measure is 'unconstitutional' he means that it is 'opposed to the spirit of the English Constitution,' but does not mean to say that it would be void if passed. When an American announces an Act of Congress 'unconstitutional,' he means that it is opposed to the written Constitution of the United States and would be declared null and void in case it were tested in the courts. For these reasons the English Constitution is more variable and intangible than the American, and its exposition correspondingly more difficult.

"The English government is usually classified by

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political scientists as a limited or constitutional monarchy. While it is a monarchy in form, in reality it is what Bagehot denominated it a generation ago,—a 'disguised republic.' This is a fact not always appreciated to the fullest extent. There is a popular misconception in some quarters in respect to the real nature of the English government; and this is particularly true in respect to the powers and prerogatives of the Crown. The idea prevails to some extent that the king or queen occupies the throne by hereditary right, and is the determining force in directing governmental affairs. As a matter of fact, however, the claim to the throne based on heredity alone is not conclusive, and Parliament may constitutionally refuse at any time to recognize such a claim. This has been done in several instances. It is also true that the Crown at the present time has comparatively little direct participation in the government. The House of Commons, under the leadership of the Cabinet, is the real governing power. The time was when the Parliament was subservient to the Crown and subject to its dictation in most matters. This subserviency and submission are startlingly evident at times during the Tudor period. In modern times the power of the Crown has gradually decreased, while that of Parliament, or more properly speaking, of the House of Commons, has correspondingly increased. Since the revolution of 1688 the House of Commons has been practically supreme in the government of England,

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and no monarch since Queen Anne has exercised the veto power. This important change came about almost imperceptibly and as the result of custom rather than of statute.

"A study of the fundamental principles of the government of England, with some reference to their origin and development, and with a careful distinction between the theory and practice, can not fail to be of value to an American citizen. American governmental institutions are of English origin, and a consideration of the English government constitutes the best possible preparation for a study of American government. Indeed, such a preliminary survey ought to be considered indispensable to a thorough and intelligent understanding of our political institutions. In theory the governing power of England is vested in the Crown and the three estates of the realm,— The Lords, the Clergy, and the Commons. As a matter of fact, however, the Lords and the Clergy have been merged for centuries, so that there are now only two estates instead of three.

"It will be necessary, then, in a consideration of the English government, to study the powers and prerogatives of the Crown, the functions of the two Houses of Parliament, and the practical working of the Cabinet."

The English nationality as known to-day is made up of Celts, Danes, Normans, Germans and others, with the Germanic element predominating, and the origin of the national assembly can be traced to the

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forests of Germany, when Cæsar and Tacitus were the pioneer historians and the king and Popular Assembly were to the people what the king and Parliament are to-day.

During the Anglo-Saxon period and up to the time of the Norman conquest in 1066, the elective power of the Witan, the predecessor of Parliament, was in the ascendency. Those were troublous times, when the young nation was reaching out for possessions and the chief duty of the king was to lead his armies in battle. Custom demanded that the Witan choose the successor to the throne from the royal family, usually the eldest son of the deceased king or a son born after the father's succession to the throne. If the claimant were a weakling or in any way physically defective he was passed over and another chosen, perhaps not of the royal family. This was the case when Earl Harold, the greatest warrior and wisest statesman of the realm, was chosen to succeed Edward the Confessor. After the Norman Conquest the succession by right of descent increased in importance, until in 1307 Edward II was proclaimed king immediately on the death of his predecessor, without mention being made of an election. 'Tis true that Parliament was obliged to assert its supremacy and depose him in 1327. Richard II was also deposed by the same Parliament in 1839 and King Henry IV elected to succeed him. After the revolution in 1688, when James II fled the kingdom, Parliament by the Bill of Rights gave the throne to

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William and Mary. The last time Parliament exercised its right was in 1700-1701, when it passed the Act of Settlement under which the House of Hanover reigns to-day. Should occasion demand, Parliament would undoubtedly again assert its elective right, and Professor Moran suggests that, should it be called upon to do so, it might pass an act more in harmony with the advanced religious views of the present age. The Act of Settlement provides that no Roman Catholic shall be allowed to ascend the throne, and should a claimant to the throne marry a papist the nation would be absolved from allegiance to that claimant and the Crown would pass to the next Protestant in order of succession. The act stipulates that the person inheriting the Crown must, on coming into his heritage, "joyn in communion with the Church of England," and at the coronation or on the first day of the session of the first Parliament thereafter must declare against the doctrine of transsubstantiation.

The ceremony of coronation takes place soon after the accession to the throne. It is conducted in Westminster Abbey by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and so impressive is the spectacle and so seldom witnessed that the English people count it a most memorable event in their lives to get just a glimpse of the splendid pageantry. To show the interest of the people in a coronation, Moran extracts the following, concerning the coronation of Charles II, from the famous "Diary" of Pepys: "About four

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I rose and got to the Abbey, and with much ado did get up into a scaffold across the north end. A great pleasure it was to see the Abbey raised in the middle, all covered with red, and a throne — that is, a chair and footstool — on the top of it, and the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, in red vests." That the enthusiasm has in no way decreased was evidenced at the recent crowning of King Edward VII.

The ceremony begins with the presentation of the new sovereign by the Archbishop, who turns in succession to each of the four points of the compass. He then says: "Sirs, I here present unto you King ——, the undoubted king of this realm: Wherefore all you who have come this day to do your homage, are you willing to do the same?" The people express their willingness by crying in unison: "God save King ——."

The oath of office is then taken, the king swearing to govern the United Kingdom according to the statutes of Parliament. He promises to maintain "the Protestant reformed religion established by law;" and "to preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy — and to the churches committed to their charge — all such rights and privileges, as by law do, or shall appertain to them."

The coronation chair has been used since the time of Edward I (1272-1307), and around it is woven an interesting story. The seat of the chair is a slab of stone twenty-six inches long, sixteen inches

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wide, and eleven inches thick. It is the "stone of destiny," or "stone of fate," upon which all the Scottish kings were crowned. Tradition has it that it is the stone upon which Jacob rested his head at Bethel; that his sons took it with them to Egypt; that the son of Cecrops, the founder of Athens, took it from Egypt to Spain; that in the year 700 B. C. it was taken by an invading army to Ireland, placed upon the sacred hill of Tara and called the "stone of fate," because when the rightful heir to the throne was being crowned it sent forth loud groans, but when a pretender was about to be crowned it maintained an ominous silence. In 330 B. C. it was taken to Scotland by King Kenneth and placed in the Abbey of Scone, from which place it was captured by King Edward I and taken to England, where it has since remained in Westminster Abbey. There is the usual spoiler of legends, however, for the practical geologist tells us that it is nothing but a slab of Scotch sand-stone and never journeyed under the skies of the Orient.

The power of the Crown is even more of an anomaly than the elective power of Parliament, and the royal prerogative is hardly as great as the definition of the word by Professor Dicey, viz., "the discretionary authority of the executive." The revolution of 1688, when the Bill of Rights settled the succession on William and Mary, closed a struggle for supremacy between the Crown and the House of Commons that had lasted more than four centuries.

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Professor Moran quotes John R. Green, who says: "In outer seeming the revolution of 1688 had only transferred the sovereignty over England from James to William and Mary. In actual fact, it was transferring the sovereignty from the king to the House of Commons." The written constitution affirms, according to Alpheus Todd, that "he is, moreover, the head of the legislature, of which he forms an essential constituent part; first in command of the naval and military forces of the state; the fountain of honor and of justice, and the dispenser of mercy, having the right to pardon all convicted criminals; the supreme governor on earth of the national church; and the representative of the majesty of the realm abroad, with power to declare war, to make peace, and to enter into treaty engagements with foreign countries." All of these powers exist in theory, but none of them are exercised except through responsible ministers, and the advice of the minister "amounts to a practical dictation."

In theory the Crown may sanction or veto a measure; in practice the king's signature is merely a matter of form. The veto power has not been exercised by the Crown since Queen Anne rejected the Scotch Militia Bill in 1707, and the royal signature is now affixed as a matter of course. "Should the king refuse," says Moran, "to append his signature to a bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament, the latter would insist and would carry their point." And Bagehot says, referring to Queen Victoria: "But the

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queen has no such veto. She must sign her own death warrant if the two Houses unanimously send it to her. It is a fiction of the past to ascribe to her legislative power. She has long ceased to have any."

Not even the presence of the king is tolerated in Parliament, except at the opening or prorogation, or to sign bills during the session. And Queen Victoria adopted the custom of being represented by a commission on these occasions. The precedent of the king absenting himself from Parliament was established by George I and George II, who were Germans and knew but little of the English language or English government.

In the relations of England with foreign powers, the king has no voice. All treaties are made by the Foreign Secretary, who also receives and answers all communications. Although the king is the "fountain of Justice," he can not decide a case, the courts making all decisions.

The moral influence of the king is of great importance, and Alfred Todd says: "Though divested, by the growth and development of our political institutions, of direct political power, the Crown still retains an immense personal and social influence for good or evil." He still has "the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn. And a king of great sagacity and sense would want no others."

To understand the English government correctly it is necessary to have a knowledge of the workings of the Cabinet, which, though not mentioned in the

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written law of England, is "the guiding and determining force of the government. It is composed of the leading members of the party dominant in the House of Commons; but the names of the noblemen and gentlemen composing it are never officially announced and no record is kept of its meetings and resolutions.

"Macauley," says Moran, "with his customary clearness comments upon the origin of the cabinet as follows: 'Few things in our history are more curious than the origin and growth of the power now possessed by the Cabinet. From an early period the kings of England had been assisted by a Privy Council, to which the law assigned many important functions and duties. During several centuries this body deliberated on the gravest and most delicate affairs. But by degrees its character changed. It became too large for despatch and secrecy. The rank of privy councillor was often bestowed as an honorary distinction on persons to whom nothing was confided, and whose opinion was never asked. The sovereign, on most occasions, resorted for advice to a small knot of leading ministers.'"

The British ministry and the Cabinet are often used synonomously, but there is this difference between them, that there are members of the former that are not members of the Cabinet, though all members of the Cabinet are attached to the ministry. The Prime Minister is chosen by the Crown and in turn selects the other members of the Cabinet. He may not

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follow his own inclinations in this selection, but must appoint men who can command the support of the majority of the House of Commons. The duties of the Prime Minister are many. He must supervise the work of all the other ministers, and that he may do so must familiarize himself with everything of importance in the various departments. "He is the official link between the Crown and the Cabinet."

Parliament consists of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The Upper Chamber is composed of six hundred members, who inherit the honorary title of Lord, or have it bestowed upon them for some act of loyalty. The sessions of the body are attended by scarcely a dozen of the members, and three constitute a quorum. Not one measure passed by the House of Commons has been defeated in the House of Lords since 1832, for they know the bills will be sent to them time after time until they are ratified and the Lower House wins its point. There has been much talk about reforming the House of Lords, or abolishing it altogether, and Lord Rosebery told an amusing story, while speaking in favor of reforming the Lords in 1884. It was about a noble earl who spoke in the House four long hours with no other audience than the presiding officer and another peer. "On another occasion," says Moran, "Lord Lyndhurst, the presiding officer, after being bored by a long and tiresome speech and having given numerous indications of his body and mind, arose and expressed his determination to 'count out' the speaker."

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Concerning the origin of the House of Commons, Moran says that it "may be traced to a very definite date. It was founded by Simon de Montfort in 1265. The event is one of the most important in all English history. Henry III was the king of England at the time, and his despotic character was the immediate cause of the establishment of the popular branch of the legislature. He had repeatedly and solemnly confirmed the provisions of Magna Charta only to disregard them persistently. He harbored many unworthy foreign favorites at his court, and was prodigal in the expenditure of money. To supply the necessary revenue he extorted money from the people by various illegal methods." At last the barons, goaded to desperation, "took up the cause of the people, prevailed against Henry as they had previously done against John, and succeeded in getting his unwilling consent to a set of articles known as the Provisions of Oxford, by which his power was very greatly curtailed. Three years later, in 1261, the king boldly refused to be bound by the provisions, and civil war ensued. King Henry was utterly defeated, and the government fell, as a result, into the hands of the barons, of whom Simon de Montfort was the leader. This patriotic man made good use of the vast power of which he found himself possessed. The government authority up to this time had been lodged in the king and the two Estates of the realm,— the Lords and the Clergy. The common people had been excluded. Simon de Montfort now issued writs for a Parliament to which

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representatives of the common people or the Third Estate were to be admitted. The sheriffs were directed to return two knights from each shire, two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each borough to meet in London on the 20th of January, 1265. This assembly, known as the Parliament of Simon de Montfort, met according to call in 1265, and this date marks the birth of the House of Commons. The beginning of the popular chamber was a humble one, and thirty years were destined to elapse before there was a perfect representation in Parliament of the three Estates of the Realm. Even then all of the members of Parliament sat together, constituting one House, and continued to do so until about the middle of the fourteenth century."

The founder of the House of Commons is worthy of a word of mention. He was a member of an illustrious French family and was born in France in 1208. In 1230 he came to England, and nine years later was made Earl of Leicester. He was a man of chivalrous spirit, was a natural leader, and just the one for the crisis of that time. He was killed in the battle of Evesham, and enthusiasm for his name expressed itself in the song, "The Strong Citadel." Moran characterizes him as the "Moses who led the English people out of the wilderness of oppression to the promised land of liberty; and though great in peace and war, his greatest claim to the undying gratitude of posterity lies in the fact that it was he who first admitted the people to their inheritance, and thus

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'first struck the keynote of constitutional government.'"

The English statute requires Parliament to meet once in three years, but as a matter of fact, it is obliged to meet annually. The session begins in midwinter and continues until the middle of August. Freedom of speech is one of the great privileges enjoyed by the English Parliament as well as by the American Congress. "Under this privilege members of Parliament have the right to express their opinions in either House without reservation and without being questioned therefor in any other place. Either House, however, may call its members to order for unparliamentary language. In a large number of cases members have been censured, imprisoned, or even expelled for offensive utterances. In most cases the member using unparliamentary language is called to order, and satisfies the House by an apology or an explanation. In other cases a more severe punishment follows."

Representation in the House of Commons is based on population, and the members are divided into three classes, representing counties, the boroughs, or towns, and the universities. The speaker is the official spokesman of the House, and also its presiding officer. He leaves partisanship behind him when he assumes the chair and must be impartial in public and private intercourse with members. In rank the Speaker precedes all other commoners. On vacating the office he is made a peer, and granted a pension

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The two important political parties in England are the Liberals and Conservatives, and the all-important political issue is Home Rule. After Mr. Gladstone's strenuous championship of Home Rule for Ireland split the Liberal party, the opposing element took the name of Liberal Unionists and joined their strength with that of the Conservatives, keeping the latter in power up to the recent elections (1906). As a result of the last general election the Liberals find themselves in power with a greater majority than they have had since 1832, the year of the Reform Bill. Several elements entered into the defeat of the Conservatives. "'Thou shalt not introduce protection,' is the first commandment given by the people," someone has said; so most of all it was the Conservatives themselves who wrought the avalanche — the independent citizens who neglect to vote unless their pocketbook is threatened. These in the recent election arose in their might and asked for free trade. Then there was the introduction of Chinese labor into the Transvaal; and the Licensing Act that offended the friends of temperance.

The Prime Minister of the new ministry is Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. With what success he and his colleagues will meet the great financial and political difficulties with which the Conservatives have endowed them remains to be seen. Students of social progress see a new element in British politics — it is labor. With Sir John Burns, the English labor leader, in the cabinet, and with Sir John Redmond to

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champion the cause of Home Rule, something important is looked for from the new ministry.

Under the new government things are looking up for Ireland. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has long been regarded as a Home Ruler, and his appointment of the Earl of Aberdeen as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with Right Honorable James Bryce Chief Secretary for Ireland, it would seem that there is cause to hope that the Irish people may at last realize what they have so long contended for. The Earl of Aberdeen was Viceroy of Ireland under Gladstone and is greatly beloved by the Irish people.

England may be considered slow, and many of the features of her government are ridiculed on account of their absurdity; but if not logical to exactness, England's institutions have worked well, and the history of the country proves that "the race is not always to the swift."

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CHAPTER VI

THE ENGLISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

THAT is an era in a man's life, especially if he be an American, the day on which he sees for the first time this imperial assemblage, the oldest, wealthiest, most cultivated, most powerful legislative body in the world. And yet in its ordinary modes the House of Commons is not an inspiring spectacle. There are some men in it whom it is a delight to look upon and listen to. There is an abundance of culture in it, and high birth and good breeding. Indeed there are in it great scholars, great authors, great jurists, great wits, and some of the most perfect gentlemen in the world. But as a whole the name is deceitful.

The House of Commons is not a House of the common people. It is a House of territorial, professional and commercial magnates, with a few philanthropists, many scholars, and more snobs. It is the stronghold, not of the English people, but of those great landed and moneyed classes that are still able to control the English people. It is the nature of aristocracies to be absorbingly selfish; the aristocracy of England has by hereditary privilege the undisputed possession of one entire branch of the legislature, the House of Lords, yet it also seeks to clutch as large a portion of the other branch as by its enor-

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mous wealth, its social prestige, and its ancient connections it is able to obtain. The Lower House, or House of Commons, is nominally a representation of the common people; but it is only since the great reform of 1832 that the middle, or trading classes, have had any appreciable voice in the selection of those who sit in this branch of Parliament. Until a recent date a considerable property qualification was necessary to render a citizen eligible for membership in this body; and it is still practically the rule that only men of fortune can aspire to the honor of writing M. P. after their names. Parliamentary service brings no salary, but instead of that the privilege of a more conspicuous social position and of heavier bills for current expenses; while the mere cost of getting elected to this luxury averages the pleasant little sum of $15,000 for each member.

By a study of the personal composition of the House of Commons we are enabled to estimate not only the spirit of its legislation, but that strange code of courtesy which prevails within its walls. Parliamentary politeness is a very unique affair; and few natives or foreigners have reflected upon the subject deeply enough to account for its eccentricities and its contradictions. The visitor is ushered into the gallery of the legislative chamber, where he has always understood are assembled the most scholarly and polished gentlemen of a highly civilized nation; and you see down the somber hall, crowding the long files of benches, an array of black-coated states-

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men, all sitting with their hats on. Not all, for here and there is an exception. Mr. Mill, with his sharp face and bald head, always proved a shining exception; Disraeli ever abhorred the vacuum of a beaver, and Mr. Gladstone invariably sat throughout the sessions bareheaded.

The first impression is invariably unpleasant. American chivalry starts at the incivility of forgetting that there are ladies in the room, even though he knows that they are ladies caged. He wonders if "meeting has begun," and finding that such is the case, and insensibly grouping Quaker habits with Parliamentary ones, is obliged to rectify his standard of indoor courtesy, and to accept a new plank in his platform of gentlemanlike behavior.

Presently another observation steals over the senses of the onlooker and fills him with surprise. He has often been assailed with the taunt that Americans are so boorish as to sit with their feet in such a position as to allow their brains the benefit of gravitation in seeking the head; but he certainly expected to find in this assembly of superlative English gentlemen naught but dignity and grace of posture. But as the debate goes on he finds himself greatly mistaken, and in addition to all varieties of grotesque and ungainly looking postures, one honorable member sits with his feet raised and resting on an opposite bench, in dangerous proximity to some famous man's nose, and on enquiry we learn with amazement that the possessor of said irreverent feet is a good old Tory bar-

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onet. When, therefore, he sees that even respected and honored old baronets can sit with their feet up, he is less astonished as he glances around the opposite side of the room to find gentlemen of the old school on the Whig side doing the same thing; and he is glad to escape into a consoling reflection by recalling to mind Fenimore Cooper's dictum, that "there is a tendency in the Anglo-Saxon race to put the heels higher than the head."

But something to the credit of the House of Commons manners must be emphasized. In this great assemblage of English gentlemen there is one article of furniture that you will not find anywhere,— a cuspidor. What is more to the point, there is no need for one. Sooner or later it will be well for American citizenship to make a determined effort to adjust itself to Sydney Smith's stern and irrevocable verdict: "All claims to civilization are suspended till this secretion is disposed of. No English gentleman has spit upon the floor since the Heptarchy."

It may be well, before looking further into the behavior of the members of the House of Commons, to consider what is the real significance of these personages. The king has almost no direct political power in England; he is only one of her constitutional fictions, very costly and very ornamental. The House of Lords is rapidly becoming another constitutional fiction, its legislative power being reduced to that of criticism, consultation, and passive resistance. In reality, the House of Commons is supreme within the

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British Empire for all purposes whatsoever. It is king, lords, and commons in one. Thus the onlooker is about to approach a committee of six hundred and fifty-eight private English gentlemen, who, through a certain bungling and corrupt hocus-pocus called an election, are, for the time being, the supreme rulers of one-fifth of the human family and one-twelfth of the habitable globe.

The House of Commons is not an assemblage for oratory or for philosophical discussion or for dress or for show of any kind, it is simply a big business committee. And there is something truly admirable in the business-like plainness, in the commercial simplicity and directness of their ways. It signifies work, not fuss or palaver. They keep their hats on, they put their feet up, they loll about and stretch themselves at full length on their benches in order to keep alive, and emphasize the idea that the place is not an exhibition room at all; not a theatric French legislative chamber, with its rostrum for preconcerted declamatory explosions; nor an American Congress with desks for members to do their correspondence at, instead of attending to business, and with its animated windmill going by water and whiskey, grinding out realms of eloquence printed beforehand. It is but a homely workroom, in which the business of the British Empire is industriously transacted.

Nothing could be finer than the fine tone of quiet and assured strength which on ordinary occasions marks their proceedings; nothing more worthy of

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imitation than the purpose they manifest of doing the greatest amount of work with the least possible bluster. Hence it is that they are very impatient of eloquence that seems to be going off for its own gratification, and with any orator who is so unfortunate as to betray the fact that he is attacking them with malice prepense and verbose. The sort of a man most respected in the House of Commons is he who knows at least one thing, even if he can not tell about it; who works much and says but little about it; while the sort of man least respected is the professional speech-maker, the senatorial elocutionist, the spouting political geyser.

In one aspect this House is the most courteous, in another the most discourteous of all assemblies in the civilized world. It unites in itself the attributes of perfect decorum and almost brutal discourteousness. The practice of individual politeness is exquisite. The moment a member rises to address the House, and thus stands forth in his individual character rôle, he seems possessed by the most refined and courteous consideration for others. In his allusion to antagonists he carefully guards against the slightest imputation of dishonorable motive; or if a word of oblique significance should slip from his tongue he hastens to withdraw it and to express his regret; nay, even in his sarcasm and home thrusts he is careful to mention something to the very credit of the very foeman he is about to scathe. Such a thing as casting vituperative epithets, as giving the lie, as threatening personal

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violence, would not be tolerated in the House of Commons for the fraction of a second, except indeed under dire compulsion in the course of an Irish debate. In this respect it must be pronounced the finest legislative body known to history. It has brought to the highest perfection the fine art of transfusing exciting debate with those graceful amenities which are twice honorable and also twice blessed, and which lift its discussions leagues above the hot and scurrilous word-brawls into which most men fly when they attempt to argue. Wholesome vigor in expression is not necessarily enfeebled by total abstinence from polemical mud-throwing. Real intellectual blows, logical hard hitting, the sturdy cut and thrust of mind with mind — these are beneficial, the more the better; but they are not rendered more beneficial by being expressed with vulgarity and discourtesy. The immense prestige of Lord Palmerston enabled him to indulge in many personal liberties in debate, but it never enabled him to indulge in the liberty of being uncivil to the most insignificant or the most unpopular member of the House. When on one occasion he said impatiently of Joseph Hume, " If the honorable gentleman's understanding is obtuse it is not my fault," he was instantly brought to his senses by the reproachful murmur as it rose from all sides of the House, and he was reminded that even Lord Palmerston could not be allowed to forget the fine code of legislative chivalry established there.

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But the strange thing about the House of Commons civility is that when a member ceases to speak and subsides from his individual responsibility into the general mass, then instead of being any longer the incarnation of courtesy, he may without violating any law or habit of the House, become instantly the incarnation of discourtesy. Standing, he must observe the gracious amenities of debate; sitting, he may do as he likes. Standing, he must not breathe the slightest suspicion against his antagonist; sitting, he may bellow at his opponent, bray at him, bark at him, mew at him, squeal at him, crow at him, whistle at him, laugh aloud at him. Standing, he must illustrate the manners of an English gentleman; sitting, he is at perfect liberty to illustrate the manners of a ruffian, a cow, a cat, a dog, an ass, a South Sea Islander or a baboon. This is not hyperbole; it has occurred over and over again in recent reform debates. It is the mode in which high-born, high-bred, and high-titled Tory gentlemen received the speeches of Gladstone and John Bright.

England is the far-renowned land of anomalies, and in no place is this more thoroughly demonstrated than in this legislature of opposite qualities,— the House of Commons.

So, as we look at West London, that city of pleasure and privilege, we realize that its very existence depends on a better understanding that all which is really great in the social life of any people must be founded

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upon that which is pure, lovely, and of good report; upon the abatement of human misery, and the upholding of righteousness; for that alone which exalts a nation exalts any section of society.*f*

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CHAPTER VII

THREE LEADERS OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

DURING the last English election, when it seemed certain that the reins of government management would be handed over to the Liberals, it was often asked, "Who will be the next Premier?" There were three men, pre-eminent in ability and service, who were often named: Earl Spencer, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and Mr. Winston Churchill. And now that the choice has fallen upon Sir Henry to form the new Cabinet, some account of these three eminent Parliamentary and public leaders will be of interest.

Earl Spencer is a typical English gentleman, by heredity, by training, and by achievement marked out for a high position. J. Poyntz Spencer, Fifth Earl, Knight of the Garter, Privy Councilor, D. C. L., LL. D., Baron Spencer, Viscount Althrop, Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire since 1872, and Keeper of the Privy Seal of the Duke of Cornwall since 1901, is an English grandee of the first rank. He owns about twenty-seven thousand acres of land, part in London and part in Northamptonshire. In his seventieth year, he is the leader of the handful of Liberal peers who still survive in the House of Lords.

Earl Spencer is no orator. It is said that his speeches are dull and dreary. But his political gifts and capacity for work are unlimited. He entered the

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administration in 1868, under Mr. Gladstone. In that year, when only thirty-three, he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, holding the post till 1874, when the Gladstone ministry fell. In the second Gladstone cabinet, Earl Spencer was minister of agriculture and lord president of the council. It was in this ministry that his qualities of grit, courage, and administration were proved. The entire government of Ireland was thrown into his hands on the retirement of Mr. Forster and the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. It was a terrible time,— the land was demoralized and in mutiny. But (in the words of Mr. Morley's "Gladstone") "the new viceroy attacked the formidable task before him with resolution, minute assiduity, and an inexhaustible store of that steady-eyed patience which is still the sovereign requisite of any man, who, whether with coercion or without, takes in hand the government of Ireland." Earl Spencer was threatened with assassination and subjected to endless insult, but for three terrible years he stood his ground and never lost his temper or nerve. In 1892 Mr. Gladstone sent Earl Spencer to the admiralty. This, although a good appointment, led indirectly to Mr. Gladstone's retirement, when Earl Spencer insisted on strengthening the navy, and, although his naval program was approved by a majority of the Cabinet, nothing could reconcile Mr. Gladstone to what appeared to him a monstrous and unnecessary expenditure of public money in provocative armaments. Mr. Gladstone's

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large-mindedness, however, was illustrated by the fact, that notwithstanding his disapproval and the success of the program, upon his retirement he submitted Earl Spencer's name to the queen as his successor in the premiership. When Lord Rosebery became premier, Earl Spencer cheerfully continued to serve on the admiralty, and at the Liberal *débâcle* the "Red Earl" never swerved. He remained at his post, and England, which expects every man to do his duty, has never been disappointed in Earl Spencer.

Even if Earl Spencer should become premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman will be one of the most important members of the new Cabinet. "C-B" is a year younger than Earl Spencer. He was originally plain Henry Campbell, but when his maternal uncle, Henry Bannerman, died, he assumed the second name, and, quite late in his career,— in 1895, and twenty-seven years after he first entered the House of Commons,— the baronetcy came.

"C-B" has led the House of Commons since February, 1899. He stepped into the breach when other men deserted it, and has done his duty manfully and well, under circumstances of great difficulty. He is a very cautious man,— a canny Scot. He refrained all through the war from praising the Boers, fearing lest one word of eulogy might lead them to prolong the war. He also took every opportunity to assert himself with Mr. Morley in repudiating any intention of restoring the independence of the South African Republics. "I have publicly stated that the annexa-

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tion must, in my opinion, be upheld." But this was to be only on condition that the new subjects were to be admitted to all the rights and privileges of British self-governing colonists. "C-B" is a shrewd man, full of *bonhomie*, and possessing no small fund of natural eloquence.

He does not write articles or books. He makes speeches, and uncommonly good speeches they are. Good-tempered, genial, humorous, and incisive, he has never had justice done him. In mere forensic tourney Mr. Asquith may be his superior. But there is no blood, or heart, or soul, in Mr. Asquith's speeches. Cold himself, he never excites a generous warmth of passion or enthusiasm among his hearers. Sir Henry is much more human. If it can not be said of him that he can "wield at will the fierce democracy," he has undoubtedly a great faculty of effective public speech, effective alike in Parliament and on the platform.

That both these leaders are, heart and soul, in favor of the Anglo-American *entente-cordiale* goes without saying. They do not favor the policy so dear to the British Jingo mind of converting the Dominion of Canada into an ironclad fighting unit in the armed forces of the empire. All the schemes for fostering the growth of militarism in Canada are by them detested and abhorred. Moreover, whether Lord Spencer be premier or Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Bryce will be a prominent member of the cabinet, and Mr. Bryce is as sympathetic an American as if he had been born in New England.

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After the premier, Mr. Winston Churchill, now under-secretary to the colonies, will, it is prophesied, become the leader in the Commons. While the matrimonial alliances between American women and British politicians have not often resulted in large or brilliant families, there is one brilliant exception. Miss Jerome, who married Randolph Churchill, has not a large family, but her son, Winston, has done much to gratify British American intermarriages. For Winston Churchill, who is an American on his mother's side, is the most conspicuous and the most promising of the younger politicians in Great Britain. Whether he will ever lead the House of Commons is an open question. But if he does, he will owe it quite as much to his American mother as to his aristocratic father.

Miss Jennie Jerome, who became Lady Randolph Churchill, and who is now Mrs. Cornwallis-West, is by universal admission one of the cleverest and most influential women in Britain. She is credited with having suggested to her husband the formation of the Primrose League, the most successful of all modern political organizations in England. She is only one of its vice-presidents, but she was its inspiring voice. Many of its most successful features were Yankee dodges which proved mightily successful when transplanted to British soil. She was a power in English society during her husband's lifetime, and has been still more conspicuous and influential since his death. She can organize, intrigue, edit, and train. She no

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longer edits the sumptuous Anglo-Saxon *Review,* but she contributes to periodical literature and devotes herself to the task of promoting the fortunes of her son. "Winston," an irate Tory recently remarked, — "there's nothing in Winston. But he's got some of the cleverest women of England at his back. That's the real secret of his success." That is not the whole truth, for "Winston" has proved his capacity in regions where his mother's care could not stand him in any stead. But he undoubtedly owes much to the American strain which comes from her. He has inherited a full measure of American snap, and is a hustler of the first class. He is as pushing as a New England canvasser, and his "American ways" are often referred to with intense disgust by the rivals whom he has passed in the race. "I never see him," said a conservative M. P. the other day, "but I think of a Chicago newsboy. He certainly means to make things hum. He is constantly on the alert. In the House, and in the country, he is never silent."

To-day, Winston Churchill is the center of the British political arena. He is the most conspicuous and in many respects the ablest of the British rising statesmen. He has gone from the Unionists to the Liberal benches in the House of Commons, and it is safe to predict that in the near future he will be Liberal leader in the House. Speaking of his career, and particularly of his military adventures, Lord Dufferin once remarked, "On every occasion he has shown that chivalrous courage which becomes a high-

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minded gentleman, and, what is equally important, that capacity, that skill, and that resource that bear testimony to his intellectual ability."

Mr. Winston Churchill is audacity incarnate. He will dare and never cease to dare. In this he is the true son of his father. Both the Churchills entered Parliament at the same age. To be an M. P. at twenty-five and a prospective party leader at thirty is a lot which has fallen to them, and to them only, in our generation.

Winston Churchill's grandfather was the seventh Duke of Marlborough, at one time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in a Tory administration. The present Churchill was born in 1874. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, Winston finished at Sandhurst, with honors, in 1894. The next year he was appointed lieutenant in the Fourth Hussars. Soon, however, he obtained leave to visit Cuba, which was then in the throes of her ten years' war with Spain. His father had been correspondent for the *Daily Graphic* in South Africa; the son was special correspondent for the same journal in Cuba. He saw service under Martinez Campos, and was decorated for his bravery. No sooner had he reached home than his regiment was ordered to India. All through the frontier war at Malakand he fought with the Thirty-first Punjab Infantry and wrote for the *Daily Telegraph*. For his valor he was again decorated. When he returned to London he immediately joined the force of General Kitchener for the reconquest of Khartum, all the time acting as cor-

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respondent for the *Morning Post.* His stay with Kitchener was full of adventure, and he was in the march from Atbara to Khartum, and in the battle of Omdurman, which he described as an eye-witness. In his book, "The River War," he told the story of the conquest of the Sudan, and in his despatches to the *Morning Post* he criticised the work of his commander-in-chief so daringly and so truly that his political reputation was made. He, however, soon concluded that he could be more useful out of the service.

It was not until the Boer War, however, that Winston Churchill rose to the first rank of war correspondents. He was the luckiest and the smartest, and certainly the most picturesque personality of all the newspaper writers during that conflict. He was taken prisoner in the early part of the war, escaped, and told all about it in his letters home. His correspondence marked him as a man of distinction,— a man who was not merely a keen observer and a brilliant writer, but who had the political instinct in his blood. At first he was certain that the Boers, considering their courage and the strength of their religious conviction, would surely win, and it was some time, he says, before he could believe in a British triumph. In March, 1900, he published in the *Morning Post,* his famous appeal for dealing with the Boers in a reasonable spirit of conciliation.

Mr. Churchill entered Parliament as a Tory Democrat, and a Tory Democrat he remains to this day, although he sits on the Liberal benches. Toryism,

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however, as interpreted by the Churchills, is often almost indistinguishable from Radicalism as interpreted by men like John Burns, who have the historical insight and a keen sympathy with the traditional glories of their country. He gave Parliament a taste of his quality in his scathing analysis of Mr. Broderick's new army scheme, in May, 1901, and was the only Unionist who voted against it. Of his speech on that occasion, Mr. Massingham, whose "Pictures in Parliament" are perhaps the best contemporary chronicle of proceedings at Westminster, said:

"Its threads were not, of course, woven with the skill that comes with long practice, and here and there were missing stitches. But in its elevation of purpose, its broad conception of national policy, and, in the direct movement of its closing sentences, I recall nothing like it since Mr. Gladstone died. I will make two criticisms upon it,— the first is, that it is the speech that should long ago have been delivered from our own benches; the second is, that in the years to come, its author should be prime minister,— I hope Liberal prime minister,— of England."

Always a Conservative, Mr. Churchill is still a free-trader, and in this fact is to be found the cause of his desertion of the Unionist ranks. He could not remain a Jingo and a militarist, so he became a supporter of the Liberals. His first serious administrative speeches were made against financial expenditure and the policy of protection. His first field for retrenchment is in the army; he upholds, but he is un-

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alterably opposed to, the attempt to convert England to a military power. There are two other questions upon which he differs from the old Conservative forces,—he has Radical ideas on the Irish question and on education; he is against the National Education Act. It may be said that he is a born demagogue. Perhaps he is; but this young man, demagogue though he may be, has already, before he is thirty, won the ear and aroused the enthusiasm of the great majority of his countrymen.g

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CHAPTER VIII

ENGLISH INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

THE growth of industrial life in the United States, with its attendant problems, makes a chapter on England's industrial history of special instructive value to American students. The industrial evolution of England is of special interest, too, because of British pre-eminence in the industrial world. Its industrial history began with Sir Richard Arkwright's invention of his spinning machine, in 1769. The idea of a machine which would spin many threads at the same time was initiated by James Hargreaves five years before. Tradition says that the idea, which was to eventually revolutionize English industrial life, came to Hargreaves by an accident. On suddenly returning home one day, his surprised wife made a quick movement which upset her spinning-wheel. Her husband noticed that the spindle continued to revolve in the upright position, and the thought came to him, why not construct a machine with many spindles, all driven by one wheel. He soon had such a machine in operation, and in honor of his wife named it the spinning-jenny. But it was left to Arkwright to improve and perfect this labor-saving machine, and on his success and the introduction of steam power, the invention of the American cotton gin and the power loom, arose

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England's mighty industrial supremacy. Until these inventions came, there were little more than cottage industries, for the primitive methods did not require specially constructed factory buildings nor organized efforts. But now, highly developed and extensive machinery called for specially constructed buildings, large capital, and an army of operatives. One can hardly at this day understand the mighty industrial revolution and evolution which these changes wrought, and they all came in the forty years between 1760 and 1800. Out of this change grew the great industrial problems which England has been solving ever since by governmental regulation. In order to appreciate what has been accomplished by a century of agitation and legislation, it is necessary to look into the conditions which have prompted a long series of effective regulations.

Even before the inventions above mentioned, and particularly after them, England began to cultivate a world-wide market for its manufactured products. Society is a delicately adjusted and balanced system of labor and modes of life, and the moderate development of any one feature soon throws the entire system into disorder. This is what occurred in England in the seventeenth century. Before the industrial revolution, the land was a country of small shops and individual effort. In every village the hand loom was turning out fabrics; and all sorts of other town and rural industries had grown up. Then came the period of great factories. To operate them re-

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quired large bodies of people, and the village shops could not meet their competition. Accordingly, all over the land village industries fell into decay, and the people either lived on, declining from competence to want, or drifted to the factory towns to be engulfed in the stream of the new industrial life with its attendant ills, which will be described farther on.

At the same time that industrial life was passing through a transformation, agricultural life was also changing. Improved machinery was coming into use, better breeds of stock and more scientific methods; but the prices were low, and the factory towns held out such alluring offers of better pay and more attractive social conditions that from the country, as well as the village, vast numbers were shifting to the factory centers. Goldsmith graphically describes in "The Deserted Village" the effects of the changes going on in the land.

In the realm of ideas marked changes took place in the closing years of the eighteenth and the opening of the nineteenth century. Before that period something had been undertaken in the way of governmental regulation of the conditions that should be imposed on industrial life. But during the period named writers and statesmen advocated what was afterward termed the *laissez-faire* theory, with such convincing force that it was an accepted creed for a long while, and resulted in the gradual undoing of all labor regulation by the government. The theory referred to was that in industrial life there should be no interference

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with perfect liberty for every person to labor in his own way, in working, employing, buying, or selling. In this theory all restricting laws were to be annulled, and people were to be left to decide their economic measures for themselves. It was a return to the natural order that existed before organized industries. This theory was carried further by Adam Smith, whose work, the "Wealth of Nations," which came out in 1776, was destined to exert an enormous influence. Its teaching was "that the most effectual plan for advancing a people to greatness is to maintain that order of things which nature has pointed out, by allowing every man, as long as he observes the rules of justice, to pursue his own interests in his own way, and to bring both his industry and his capital into the freest competition with those of his fellow-citizens." According to this theory the observance of a natural order of individual decision would in the end lead to the same salutary results to which all statutes were aimed. The acceptance of this theory was so general that for a while all government economic and industrial regulations were either withdrawn or fell into disuse. For a time, and until about 1830, labor, capital, and enterprise in their relations were unrestricted, free, and independent, and with what results we will now consider.

There followed the acceptance of the theories of Adam Smith and others, a period of individualism. Farm and village laborers were free to find employment anywhere, and a people that had been fixed in

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their habits and had cultivated thrift at home began to crowd to the factory centers, where they found no government protection, and under a free competitive system, long hours, and low wages they became slaves to rapacious manufacturers. The mill owner was not obliged to consider the welfare of the operatives; there was no strong power to interfere in their behalf, nor combination of labor to curb the hard conditions imposed by capital. On the surface, economic conditions seemed to be flourishing, and England was fast winning the premiership in the empire of trade. But below the surface there was a deplorable condition. Big factory competition was slowly driving out the small farm and village hand industries, which still lingered and kept up a contest for their very existence, to the verge of pauperism.

In the bustling trade and factory centers there was another picture, even more depressing. England's foreign trade was growing at a rapid rate, and to keep up with the demand a system of forcing resulted. The hours for labor were lengthened to twelve and fourteen, and to find more help the custom grew up of apprenticing the children of the poorhouses. They were, by hundreds, at seven and eight years huddled in the factories and put at work on long hours, housed and under-fed in barracks, worked in crowded and filthy rooms, and driven without sympathy to tasks suited only to strong hands. Nor were women exempt, and in factories and mines they were wearing out their lives by hard toil. The day usually began

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at six in the morning and continued until 7:30 and 8:30 in the evening. Some mills began as early as five in the morning and did not close until nine in the evening. There were few holidays, and generally Sunday was the only day of relief from the fearful strain.

Conditions were becoming intolerable, and two of the noblest humanitarians of the age, Robert Owen and Robert Peel, heard the cries for relief and threw their souls into movements and measures to change all this. Owen was himself a successful mill owner and early moved for labor emancipation. He introduced reforms and gathered a vast amount of information to show England what was going on, and wrote a pamphlet which had an enormous influence. Peel was in Parliament and started the movement for government regulation, where everything begins in England, by getting a commission to investigate conditions and report them to the government. This was in 1815, the date when was begun in Parliament a movement for industrial supervision and labor emancipation which has pressed steadily forward to this year 1906. It was during the early years of the agitation that Mrs. Browning espoused the children's cause and thrilled all England with her "Cry of the Children:"—

"Do you hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
Ere the sorrow comes with years?
They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
And that can not stop their tears.
The young lambs are bleating in the meadows;

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The young birds are chirping in the nest;
The young fawns are playing with the shadows;
The young flowers are blowing toward the West;
But the young, young children, O my brothers!
They are weeping bitterly.
They are weeping in the playtime of the others
In the country of the free.

* * * * *

'For oh!' say the children, 'we are weary,
And we can not run or leap:
If we cared for any meadows, it were merely
To drop down in them and sleep.'

* * * * *

They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
And their look is dread to see,
For they mind you of their angels in high places,
With eyes turned on Deity.
'How long,' they say, 'how long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand to move the world on a child's heart,
Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitation
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart.'"

Parliament was slow in undertaking the great task of supervising and regulating industrial life, but once it committed itself to the policy, it has made a steady advance. It was four years before Robert Peel's movement in Parliament for the protection of labor resulted in any enactments. In the year 1819 the "Factory Act" was passed, and it applied only to cotton mills. It forbade the employment of children before they had reached the age of nine, shortened their hours to twelve, and required an allowance of half an hour for breakfast and one hour for dinner. The improvement was small, but it was a beginning. From that day to the present Parliament, in which sits

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the able labor leader, Mr. John Burns, scarcely a session has passed without new laws and amendments being enacted, and all of them breathe the larger humane spirit of the modern days. It would not be interesting to the general student to recite every legal enactment. It will be quite enough to state what the laws are to-day. In 1867 the "Factory and Workshop Consolidation Act" abrogated previous special laws and undertook a regulation of industrial life, which is the law to-day modified. Children can no longer be employed until they are ten years old, and their hours must not exceed twelve, with two hours out for meals. Every Saturday is a holiday and provision is made for eight half holidays in the year. Children between ten and fourteen years must be kept at work only half of each day, or if for full time, then alternate days must be free for school attendance. Other stringent provisions enforce good sanitation, protect in dangerous occupations, require medical certificates, and provide penalties for infraction of any of the regulations.

The last addition to the above act was the "Shop-hours Act" of 1892, which still prevails, with few modifications. It prohibits the employment of persons under eighteen for more than seventy-four hours in any week, and applies to stores, shops, markets and warehouses. In 1899 another act compelled the proprietors of stores to supply a sufficient number of seats for their female employees. There are also laws (the last having been enacted in 1897) which

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fix the liability of an employer for accidents or deaths, the compensation bearing some proportion to the employee's earnings, and from which there is no relief save when " serious and wilful misconduct " can be shown. This law is in effect a sort of an accident insurance, and is an implied part of every contract.

Passing from factory to farm life, we find some progress has here been made against the harsh conditions that once prevailed, but there is still need for a larger supervision to protect children and laborers from rapacious employers. The greatest advance in agricultural life has been made along lines of betterment. English tenants can now, by a recent law, maintain a bill for improvements made during their occupancy. In 1894 the last of a series of acts makes it obligatory on the town councils to provide people, either by purchase or allotment from common lands, small farms which must be rented out to those who desire to set up homes and utilize their odd hours on their grounds. This return to an old condition by which the people have an interest, as did their fathers, in the land they occupy, has been eagerly accepted with inestimable benefits. The latest statistics show that in 1895 more than half a million holdings were leased out by the town councils. The first acts only contemplated helping to small holdings, but subsequent laws have extended the policy to farms of five to fifty acres, and have provided measures to assist small farmers in buying land, by a loan system, which enables them to buy a small farm as soon as one-fifth of

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the value can be paid down. Easy terms are given on the balance, one quarter of which may be left and paid in perpetual annual ground rent. The influence of this wholesome plan on economic and social life is working marked salutary changes all over England. From being mere laborers, thousands have passed into proprietorship, with the improvement of social standing and better economic conditions. In villages, a similar plan assists the employees of store and shop to acquire cottage homes.

Along industrial and economic lines the government is vastly assisting by a system of sanitary inspection and enforcement of wholesome regulation whenever any aggrieved persons will apply for relief from the ill-effects of bad drainage or conditions which are dangerous to health. The government control of the telegraph and also all the telephone service but that operated by one company, the parcels-post system by which the post-offices receive and transmit packages of as heavy as twenty-one pounds and deliver them — all these give a public service at minimum charges and indirectly benefit several economic conditions.

It would be interesting to extend this study and consider the rise, condition, and effect of trades-unions, employers' associations, co-operative societies, profit-sharing plans and kindred subjects, but this would extend this chapter beyond reasonable length.

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In the main the experiences in the United States are being repeated in Great Britain. Passion is just as strong there, and opinions differ quite as widely on all these matters as in America.[h]

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CHAPTER IX

CONDITION OF EDUCATION

THE first Parliamentary grant for public education in England was only in 1832. That year the House of Commons voted $200,000 toward the building of public schools, and seven years later much more was done for this cause. Besides, some system in administering public education began to appear in that period, and inspectors of schools were for the first time appointed to exercise supervision over private, as well as board, or public, schools.

The founder of England's early educational system, which dates from 1839, was a medical man, Dr. Phillips Kay, who became secretary of the Educational Department. In the course of his practice he had observed the gross ignorance prevalent in many large towns, and became convinced that persistent efforts were needed to cope with it. He made a practical study of the educational methods followed in Holland, Prussia, and Switzerland, countries at that time far ahead of England in providing efficient teaching. Dr. Kay felt that the chief need was carefully trained teachers, and advised the establishing of a state training college, but the idea met with opposition. However, he was persistent, and with the help of Mr. E. C. Tufnell, a school for pupil-teachers was started, and so was laid the founda-

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tion of the English normal school system. Dr. Kay's school proved a great success, and in 1842 was recognized by the department of public education, which that year granted it $5,000 to carry on and improve its work.

The approval of public education was now growing, and in 1847 the Parliamentary grant was increased to $500,000 and a Code was agreed upon for the conduct of education, which, with a few modifications, lasted for fourteen years, and at the end of that period the annual grant for education, science, and art had arisen to over $6,000,000. In 1858 a Royal Commission under the Duke of Newcastle was appointed to enquire into the state of popular education, and reported in 1861. The system had then reached one-eighth of the population, but the attendance was very irregular, and not more than a fourth of the children left school fairly well taught. The report of the Commission fell into the hands of Mr. Robert Lowe, vice-president of the Council in charge of education, who dealt with it in a very drastic manner, and produced a Revised Code. Its main feature will surprise American educators, for it was nothing less than a proposal to grant to any school from public funds an amount in proportion to the number of scholars who passed a successful examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Mr. Lowe's Revised Code did not find universal favor, but it was adopted, and while it proved economical and made the public schools more efficient, it did little

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more to advance the progress of education. However, public education was rapidly growing, and in 1869 there were in England and Wales alone, 11,000 elementary day schools, 2,000 night schools, with 1,450,000 children on the registers and 1,000,000 in an average attendance. The school population was, however, far in excess of these figures, and in some places the deficiency in attendance was very serious.

It was clear that if the children of England and Wales were to be educated, the existing system was wholly inadequate. Accordingly, in 1870, the subject was taken in hand by Mr. Gladstone's administration, and Mr. W. E. Forster, the vice-president of the Council, succeeded in carrying through Parliament an Elementary Education Act, which will make its author's name ever memorable among the benefactors of his countrymen. Its chief provisions were: sufficient schools should be provided for one-sixth of the population; every elementary school should be taught by a qualified teacher, and should be subject to inspection; that in all such schools religious instruction should be given at the beginning or end of the teaching, and that parents should be entitled to withdraw their children from religious instruction; that in the public schools (called Board Schools in England), no catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any religious denomination should be used; and finally, that the Educational Department should not take any account of religious

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instruction, and the inspector should not examine in religious subjects.

Mr. Forster's Act also authorized school boards to raise money by a school rate to build schools and for other scholastic purposes; and to take steps to enforce compulsory attendance of children at schools and to supply free education to the children of poor parents. A subsequent act made education free to all who demanded it for their children. As a result of these wise laws, a great impetus was given to the progress of education. All over England places vied with each other in building schoolhouses, while the quality of instruction was everywhere improved, and many subjects were now taught which had once been considered quite beyond the range of elementary schools. The wave of educational enthusiasm that swept over England will be better understood by comparing the statistics of 1901 with those given herein for 1869. In the former year over five and a half million scholars were on the registers of the elementary schools, with an average attendance of over four and a half millions. The number of elementary day schools had risen to 20,022, of which 17,008 were absolutely free; and 31,038 pupil-teachers were being trained to fill positions. Five years ago the central government disbursed for education over forty-one million dollars, and this amount has been increased every year since.

A feature of the English system is the Continuation School, for those who have left the day schools,

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and of this class the latest obtainable census gave nearly 6,000, with an attendance of almost half a million. It is worthy of special mention that nearly every town in England has now one or more evening continuation schools, which provide efficient teaching for those who can not attend the day schools. It is also noteworthy that while a majority of those registered in these schools are under the age of sixteen, ten per cent of the whole number are adults. These schools, like the public schools, are aided by the government and are under its inspection.

"The existence of a growing desire for prolonged education has led to the establishment in London and many of the chief industrial centers of 'higher grade schools.' These are not in the true sense secondary schools, and are in no wise intended to lead upward to colleges and universities; but they take the scholar who has made good use of the elementary school up to the age of fourteen, and provide for him a developed program of studies on the same lines, up to fifteen or sixteen. These schools supply a real want and are rapidly growing in usefulness and favor with the more intelligent parents. But the question has arisen whether such prolongation of the school course beyond the age of fourteen — the statutory limit of compulsory education — is consistent with the intention of the Educational Acts; and the additional subjects taught in the higher grade schools, such as modern languages, mathematics and various branches of physical science, can

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come properly within the domain of elementary instruction. The more enterprising of the school boards have answered the question for themselves, and have made generous provision for higher-grade day schools and for evening continuation schools."

In addition to the board, or public, schools there is in Great Britain another class of schools, both extensive and useful. These are the " voluntary schools which have been established by religious bodies and derive a portion of their income from the contributions of the churches. In them it is permissible to give instruction in the distinctive doctrines of the body to which they belong. The voluntary schools are chiefly those connected with the Established Church, and in rural districts are the only public elementary schools accessible to the children. Even in the largest cities their attendance is large, and they must be considered as performing an important part in public education. In London the attendance at voluntary schools, including those of the Church of England, the Catholics, and the Wesleyans was, even in 1891, 174,702, while in the board schools it was 439,744. Year by year the discrepancy increases throughout the country, and the attendance at the voluntary schools either remains stationary or gradually declines."

Still the existence of the voluntary schools is a powerful element to be reckoned with in all school legislation. It was the class occasioned by a double-headed system of board and voluntary school, as well

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as the doubtfully legal secondary schools, that occasioned an effort to correlate them into a system which would reduce the cost of public education and make it more effective. The school acts here referred to were introduced and became a law in 1902, during the administration of Mr. Balfour. Never in recent times has any legislation met with such a storm of protest, especially from the hosts of Non-conformists who objected to having the administration of the public schools placed under the control of the Established Church people, for this was the effect of that law. At this writing, May 20, 1906, Parliament is considering a new act, which the Liberal ministry has introduced, to annul the obnoxious features of the present law and provide for a larger degree of efficiency in the public schools.

The urgent need of some provision for technical education was not generally felt in England until twenty-five or thirty years ago, when manufacturers awoke to the perception of the fact that in many matters of industrial work, Continental workmen were superior. In the application of science to industries England seemed to be falling behind her neighbors, and those who studied the question of inferiority of English artisans ascribed it to a want of proper training and to the lack of schools in which such training could be acquired. In 1878 several of the great city companies, in co-operation with the Corporation of London, established an institute for

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the advancement of technical education. Subsequently a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the subject, and published a long report in 1882. In 1889 the Technical Instruction Act was passed, authorizing the county councils and other bodies to raise money by taxation to establish technical schools. It is significant of the aroused feeling that by 1900 the sum raised for this purpose was nearly four millions of dollars. The subjects taught in the technical schools vary according to the districts in which they are established. In many counties agricultural instruction is of first need, while in manufacturing districts, in the mining regions and commercial centers, appropriate instruction to the needs is given preference. In a recent educational exhibit of work done in the London schools there were shown carpentry, joinery, plumbing, masonry, blacksmithing, stone and wood carving, plaster-work, staircasing, and other lines in the building trades. The variety and extent of the subjects taught were also further indicated by exhibits in engineer's tools, printing, photography, bicycles, carriages, watches, jeweler's and silversmith's work, engraving, enameling, bookbinding, picture framing, and much more. All this was the work of the technical schools of one city alone, but what is going on in London is also being done all over Britain, and if American manufacturers are to successfully compete with those of England, it behooves them to cease trusting too much to native genius and begin to set up schools every-

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where, where the hand and brain of our artisans will be trained for higher excellence.

"In the sphere of university education," writes Mr. J. C. Fitch in an able article in the *Educational Review,* "the last few years have witnessed remarkable development. Americans who are familiar with the fact that there are in the States no less than four hundred and eighty colleges and universities which have the power to confer degrees, are often struck by the smallness of such institutions in the old country. But it should be understood that here the establishment of a university is an event of serious national importance. No such power can be exercised without a royal charter, and every academic degree is thus ultimately sanctioned by the Crown. At the commencement of the queen's reign there were in England only the two ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge; in Ireland, Trinity College; and in Scotland, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews. The year 1837 saw the foundation of the London University, and Durham also received a charter. Subsequently, Owen College, Manchester, had associated with itself the local colleges of Liverpool and Leeds, and became incorporated under the name of the Victoria University. In 1893 the University of Wales was legally constituted, and already has affiliated to it the three colleges of Bangor, Cardiff, and Aberystwyth. In the last year of the nineteenth century the Birmingham University, which will absorb the well-known Mason's College in that city,

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received its royal charter of incorporation. At all the great industrial centers, notably in Newcastle, Sheffield, Nottingham, and Bristol, colleges of university rank have been established, partly at the cost of the municipalities and partly of rich and generous citizens. The college at Newcastle has become federated with the University of Durham; and other colleges will probably be associated ere long either with the Victoria University, the Midland University of Birmingham, or possibly with a new federation for the west of England, including Bristol and Exeter. All these institutions are well officered in the departments of the languages of humanities, and especially in such departments of physical sciences as are most nearly akin to the principal industries of the district. Having regard to their origin and to the new forms of intellectual and practical activity which are the result of our modern experience, it is probable that the types of university education which may thus be evolved in our provincial towns will be found to differ from each other, and from those which have prevailed in the ancient universities. But the inbred conservatism of the learned classes in England may be confidently relied upon to maintain, in all the institutions to which the government intrusts degree-giving powers, a high standard of scholarship and intellectual excellence.

"In Ireland the university problem is complicated by the fact that eighty per cent of the population of the island are Roman Catholics, and that they and the whole Irish priesthood desire a university which

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shall be distinctly Catholic in its character, and under the supervision of ecclesiastical authority. There are no tests at Trinity College, Dublin; and the Royal University, which is mainly an examining board, receiving students from Catholic colleges and from the queen's colleges, also awards degrees to students of all creeds, after examination in secular subjects only. But this open provision is not satisfactory to the Catholic hierarchy, and the demand for an exclusively Roman Catholic university meets with considerable sympathy, not merely from the Irish people, but also from some prominent English statesmen of both parties. On the other hand, it is rightly contended, that in every one of the ancient universities of the United Kingdom, all theological tests, whether for students or for the governing bodies, have been abandoned; that no one of the newer universities, either here or in our colonies, is sectarian in its character; and that, with one rather unimportant exception — that of Lavalin, Lower Canada — there is not in the whole of the king's dominions one which has a distinctively theological character or form of government. It may be added that, in the true interests of higher education, colleges with a pronounced denominational character may very properly receive full recognition and public aid. But a university is something more than a college; it is a corporate body, intrusted by the Crown with the power of setting up the standard of learning, and of rewarding intellectual merit *per se*. In the exercise of this power denominational consid-

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erations clearly have no lawful place. To establish a new university under the control of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and with a view to strengthen the influence of one religious communion, would be a reactionary step of serious magnitude on the part of the state which has, one by one, taken away all exclusive privileges from the adherents of its Established Church. Oxford and Cambridge, with the traditions of a thousand years behind them, have ceased, as far as the award of academic honors is concerned, to be Anglican institutions. Neither the Presbyterians nor the Wesleyans have asked for universities of their own. There is but one church that puts forth a demand for exceptional treatment and for a sectarian university. For the present statesmen and leaders of public opinion in England are hesitating whether to refuse or to comply with this demand. It is probable that Parliament will arrive at some compromise whereby the fullest liberty and encouragement shall be given to such teaching as Catholics desire, and at the same time the meaning of a university degree shall not be altered; while the distinguishing mark of scholarship shall be awarded on grounds of intellectual merit alone, without reference to the theological opinions of the candidate.

One of the most important events of the closing year of the nineteenth century was the reorganization of the University of London. Founded in 1837, its charter recognized it as an examining body in close connection with certain other colleges, and empowered

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it to examine the students from those institutions and to award them with degrees and honors. In 1878 a new charter threw open the examinations to all comers. Thus, for many years, the London University has been mainly an examining body rather than a teaching body, and has conferred its honors on candidates from all parts of the country and the colonies. It has, in fact, been an imperial, not a local, university.

But now the University has faculties and boards of studies for each of the departments of university instruction, including engineering, education, and economic and political science, and provides both for internal students who are pursuing a regular course of study under college professors, and also for external students who may receive degrees after examination only, and on the same conditions as those which have hitherto existed. How important the maintenance of the system of external graduation is, may be inferred from the fact that in the year 1898 no less than 6,319 candidates presented themselves at the opening examinations; that of those, 1,078 men and 506 women passed at matriculation; 285 men and 243 women in the examinations for degrees in arts; 255 men and 52 women in science; and 406 men and 51 women in medicine.

"London has long been the only great capital of Europe without a real university taking cognizance, not only of examinations and degrees, but also of the higher culture generally. Otherwise no London university could be commensurate with the magni-

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tude and intellectual influence of the metropolis. It is plainly impossible to reproduce on the banks of the Thames an institution appealing, like Oxford or Cambridge, by its beauty, its repose, and its venerable and touching historical associations, to the affections of students. But the very absence of tradition and precedent renders it freer to adapt itself to new conditions and to try new experiments. The London University has it in its power to develop into an institution of an original and noble type. By providing special chairs for the encouragement of post-graduate studies, by showing how existing colleges may be brought into mutually helpful relations, and by kindling among London citizens that spirit of local patriotism which makes men proud of their birthplace and anxious to promote its welfare and the fame of its institutions, the University bids fair to realize in London Bacon's dream of a *New Atlantis* — a great seat of learning, the chosen home of scientific investigation and experiment, a bold pioneer in the discovery of new truth, the hospitable center at which the philosopher and the 'merchants of light' and the 'interpreters of nature' from all regions of the earth will always receive a cordial welcome."[1]

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CHAPTER X

WOMEN'S COLLEGES IN ENGLAND

THE revival of women's education in England has now a record of nearly sixty years behind it. In the first half of the last century girls of the upper classes were, for the most part, educated at home by governesses, usually foreigners; more rarely were sent to private boarding-schools. No possibility of training was open to an English woman, for teaching was not looked upon as a profession, but as the one resource for all better-class women who through some untoward circumstance had been suddenly compelled to seek a livelihood. The average governess was a pitiful specimen of educated humanity. Some, of course, there were who, by travel or by private study, had reached a fair standard of attainment; but the majority were utterly incapable of performing the duties undertaken. To help and protect this class the Governesses' Benevolent Association was formed in 1843, and as the needs grew was finally merged in 1848 into an educational institution known to the present day as Queen's College.

The ideas with which the infant college started its career, strike us nowadays as exceedingly quaint. Each lecture was preceded by an apologetic introduction, and in each case a lengthy explanation proved that the evils anticipated from the particular subject

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under discussion were but fanciful. It is difficult for the modern mind to realize how great was the terror of learned ladies which prevailed in those early days. There were many students, however, and the college flourished. The entry of a number of quite young girls made it necessary to organize a preparatory school, and after fifty-eight years both school and college are still doing most excellent work.

Queen's College was in connection with the Church of England; Bedford College, founded in 1849, met the needs of Nonconformists as well as Episcopalians, its principles being unsectarian, and in the management of its affairs the women took a greater part. Its founder and benefactress was Mrs. Reid, and believing that women could best understand the needs of girls, she chose a co-operating feminine board. These women enrolled as lady-visitors and were expected to be present in turn at the college lectures. The lecturers at this college have included such distinguished names as De Morgan, Newman, George Macdonald, and Sir Oliver Lodge. Of the students the best-known is George Eliot, who attended the first Latin class, while in comparatively recent years Beatrice Harraden appears in the list.

Owing chiefly to the efforts of two of the earliest students of Queen's College, Misses Buss and Beale, a thorough reform in girls' schools was inaugurated. The former founded the North London Collegiate School for girls, the first and still the very best of high schools. Miss Beale became principal of Cheltenham

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Ladies' College in 1858 and soon succeeded in raising it to the high rank which it still continues to hold. In 1865 girls were admitted to the Cambridge Local Examinations, which had been instituted for schoolboys between the age of thirteen and fourteen. This proved a great step forward, for schools now had an aim to work for, and a link between girls' schools and the Cambridge University was supplied.

In 1870 a second progressive step was taken, in the advent of a few women in Cambridge to work for the honors — degree examinations. They were successful, and the preliminary experiment being satisfactory, funds were raised and in 1873 Girton College was founded. Newnham College was founded about the same time as a hall of residence for girls preparing for Cambridge examinations, but very soon students began to study for the degree examinations. In 1881 women were formally admitted to honors examinations and Girton and Newnham formally recognized, but as yet neither Oxford nor Cambridge have conferred actual degrees upon women.

The University of London was the pioneer in giving full rights to women, opening its doors to them in 1878. Bedford College sent in candidates to the very first examinations, and all distinguished themselves. It then adapted itself definitely to prepare for London degrees, opening classes in all art subjects, and adding one laboratory after another for the practical work in science until it was fully equipped.

Queen's College developed along different lines. It

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opened no scientific laboratories, and made no attempt to prepare women for a professional life. It is attended by well-to-do girls who desire thorough study but who do not expect to earn their living in any line for which a degree certificate is an advantage. The students now are considerably younger than those at Bedford.

About the time of the opening of London University, women began to be admitted to University College. The professors first held separate lectures for them, but wearied after a time of repeating themselves and threw open the regular classes to the women. King's College has a special department for women where they do good work in languages and literature; while University College in Liverpool, Yorkshire College in Leeds, Durham University, and the University of Wales admit women on exactly the same terms as men. Westfield College in Hampstead and Holloway College in Surrey complete the list of higher educational institutions for women in England.

The students at women's colleges are recruited mostly from high schools of the type of the North London Collegiate for girls. Such a student has been applying herself for many years and has accumulated a great deal of knowledge. At the same time she has had much healthy exercise playing hockey, lawn tennis, etc., and much fun from her school societies. There is often a want of individuality and atmosphere about her, because school-life with its lessons, its games, and its societies is so engrossing that the girl

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develops in the one groove and is often very one-sided. Some come from private schools, and though their knowledge is more limited than the high-school girls, they are fresher and more original.

The choice of the college usually depends upon the means, on the possibility of scholarships, and on the subjects which a girl wishes to study. Poor girls living within reach of a college are usually obliged to attend that college unless fortunate enough to obtain a scholarship to take them elsewhere. Rich girls go to Cambridge and Oxford, because the older universities are of higher social standing. The standard of preparation for all colleges is approximately the same, and one fault is common to all,— work is done too much with reference to the final examinations. This is at its worst in London, where it is also most excusable; for the London examinations are very difficult and at every one more than half the candidates fail. In Oxford and Cambridge actual failure is rare, but great value is laid on the attainment of first-class honors.

A girl's life at college differs considerably with the place she selects, the greatest differences being between the residential and the non-residential colleges. Bedford College is essentially a non-residential school. There are no lectures in the morning or after five at night, and no interval in the middle of the day, so that each student has to make her lunch time fit in with her lectures as best she may. Nearly all those who prepare for London degrees come from high schools, and

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there is such a vast amount to be learned for a London degree in arts or sciences that these girls are often overhurried, and scarcely have time to assimilate their work satisfactorily. However, there are given opportunities for enjoyment and recreation. Residential pupils, and those of the non-residents who can be on the spot early enough, devote the morning before ten to amusement and exercise. In winter they play hockey; in summer there is boating in Regent's Park and the swimming-baths are not far away. After five in the afternoon the various societies meet and are characteristic of college life, and tea is supplied by the tea club at four, forming a short break in the afternoon's work. The organization of these clubs often shows marked ability, and in them the girls learn much which is useful to them in larger spheres.

University College, London, has both male and female students, the laboratories are on a very large scale, and every facility for advanced work and original research is afforded. The average woman student here is older than her sister at Bedford, and is frequently specializing in some subject, along with her degree work. Teachers desiring to qualify in higher branches are frequent students at University College, and so the atmosphere is distinctly less crude and schoolgirl-like than at Bedford. The majority of the students are members of the Woman's Union which includes all the college clubs. Some of the latter are formed of women only, others are mixed and are affiliated to the Men's Union as well as to the

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Women's. Classes here begin at nine; there are rarely any after five, and there is no lunch interval. The men and women work together in the laboratories, and learn much from each other, the women quite holding their own. The work is hard, but interesting and satisfactory, is keenly enjoyed by the students, and there is the sense of constant progress and at the same time the spirit of youthfulness and freshness.

At Cambridge, and with few exceptions at Oxford, the students live in the colleges and devote all their time and energy to study and recreation. At Newnham and Girton it is usual for girls to stay three years, and only when they have special ability for four. At Girton each student has two very comfortable rooms,— bedroom and study,— at Newnham only one. Breakfast and lunch may be taken at any reasonable hour; dinner or "hall," as it is called, is at a fixed hour. The whole of the morning and part of the evening are devoted to work; the afternoon, as is the habit at the older universities, is devoted to play. Science students only, who have much to do in laboratories, do not have their afternoons free. Girton is some distance from Cambridge, so that the girls go to and from the university lectures in flies; a great deal of the work is, however, individual, and is done either with women dons who live in the college or else with men who come out from Cambridge. Some of the students work day and night in their effort to get a "first class;" others, who have come to the college because of the pleasant life with its keen and intellectual

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atmosphere, companionship, games, and societies, and beautiful surroundings, do not do much more than is necessary to get a tolerable place in the examination. Those are wisest who do not neglect the social side, for as much is learned from cocoa parties as from text-books, and those are fortunate who ever again spend such happy years as the three at Girton or Newnham. The college terms are not long, and reading parties — another of the joys of existence — are often formed, either in England or abroad, for those who wish to meet together in the summer and do some work.

The conditions in Oxford are not unlike those at Cambridge, but another recreation, boating, is possible.

There is no doubt that, from the point of view of supplying an ideally pleasant and not unprofitable existence for girls who have just been set free from the restraints of school, but have not entered on the responsibilities of life, the women's colleges in England, particularly the residential colleges, are a very great success. From the point of view of the kind of women they turn out, they can probably also be regarded as a success.

A very large number of university women take up teaching as a profession, namely, very nearly all those who graduate in arts or science from Bedford or University College, London, and perhaps half of the Oxford and Cambridge women. Such teachers could hardly be better prepared as regards knowledge, and they all know how to work, but they are one-sided and have to pay for their excellence by deficiencies in other

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respects. They have, in fact, been so busy studying that they are hopelessly ignorant of life, and they have mixed so much with young people of their own age that they have had no chance of getting to know grown-up people or learning what ordinary human life is like.

Many college women study medicine and they are liked as practitioners and are most successful in getting posts. A few take up journalism, a few have made their names in literature, and some have devoted themselves to social work.

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CHAPTER XI

BRITISH SOCIAL LIFE

NOTHING shows more clearly that we are living in a transition age than the life in West London. It is a curious conglomeration of a past inheritance, of present tastes, of future tendencies. The great palaces, the stately houses, the spreading trees in well-ordered parks, take our thoughts in a leisurely fashion down avenues that lead to a past age when life was not one long hurry in order to go to the next thing, but when men and women had time to be dignified and pause before the importance of their own existence. Little events bring great results, and nothing has so changed the social life of West London, nothing has broken down class barriers so effectively, as the progress in the means of locomotion. I can well recollect my aunt's telling me of the first drive she ever took in a hansom cab. It was considered a sort of an expedition that had in it a spice of adventure, and her father, who accompanied her, begged her to keep her parasol well before her face. I also remember that my grandmother told me that she thanked heaven that she had never been in a hack cab in her life, and I still have a vivid remembrance of the swinging chariot, with two footmen hanging behind, which was considered the only conveyance fit for any woman be-

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longing to her order. This change in the pomp of daily life has invaded every realm of society. In old days a ball was a ceremony which was considered a serious social observance; dancing was a measured ritual, slow, punctilious; every step was of importance, and every step was taught — a very different pastime from the crowded romp which has taken the place of that splendid though solemn recreation.

I can also recollect the time when it was only whispered that any one received in society was connected with any trade or business; but to-day, business and society are so combined that a man will, as has been very cleverly said by a pungent writer, "pull out a sample of kamptulicon from his pocket and beg his hostess to remember him when she recovers her kitchen floor." West London in old days was essentially a city of ponderous pomp. Paris in comparison appeared as a bright firefly beside the grim darkness which surrounded England's metropolis. Now, the streets of London are brighter, if possible, than those of Paris, the shops as gay, the movement as vivacious.

In the old days, the stately mansions in the West End were open for three or four months in the year. "The family came to town" — servants, carriages, horses, luggage, all were brought from the country house and established in Belgrave or Grosvenor Square. Now, Monday to Saturday may be spent in London, Saturday to Monday on the river, Tuesday to Thursday at some race-meeting. Rush and

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hurry, hurry and rush, characterize the life of those who are called "the smart set." The early ride in the park, the afternoon drive and shopping and calls, have given place to polo matches and pigeon-shooting, cycling parties, motor-scorching, bridge, and poker. If you wanted in the old days to see your friends, you could invariably find them at a quiet, solemn lunch, assembled in dim stately dining-rooms between one and two o'clock. Now, restaurants, hotels, tea-houses and lunch-rooms are the resorts of the representatives of the fashionable world.

But probably the greatest change of all has taken place in the methods by which people are admitted to the inner circles of what is called "the best society." Many causes have been at work, which have, some for the better and some for the worse, broken down the barriers that existed between the aristocratic classes and the great professional and money-making world. It was of set purpose that Pitt created a plebeian aristocracy. He made peers of the successful money-makers, and, as Lord Beaconsfield said, "caught them from the alleys of Lombard Street and clutched them from the counting-houses of Cornhill." But to-day, the successful brewer who has coined enough money out of the public houses of East London and other great centers, the reckless speculator or the great Jewish financier, are among those eagerly selected for hereditary seats in the House of Lords; and to-day, if the pedigrees of the great families were examined, not

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one would be found that has not reinforced its exchequer by an alliance with a great commercial house. In an age when money is the real 'touch-stone of power, the great names of England are freely bartered for fortunes that have been built up by successful money-makers.

Another great change which has taken place is undoubtedly the admittance into society of the Jews. Sixty years ago, it would have been impossible for any Jew to obtain a social standing in London. To-day, not only is every great financial house, save one, practically Jewish, but a large Jewish plutocracy forms one of the pillars of social life supporting the throne and re-enforcing the power of English aristocracy.

And yet with these many anomalies we see amidst the traditions of the past, there is no place where those traditions have so firm a hold or appeal so strongly to the popular imagination as in West London. All who witnessed the splendid pageant of the Coronation will have realized how dearly the English still love pomp. The great mass of the people are gratified to see the fruits of their taxation, and revel in spectacular pageants; but even at the most impressive moment of that great ceremony, when the trappings of the cream-colored horses were glittering in the sun and the painted coach bore its burden of robed and crowned royalty, riveting every eye, the hooting of a motor-car and the presence of a bicycle testified to the fact that all this was a resur-

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rection of past times, not an indication of future customs. The presence of a thousand kodaks in the streets upon that memorable Coronation Day testified to another transformation which has brought far-reaching results that it would be impossible to detail here.

Probably the greatest visible change, however, that has taken place in West London is the manner in which the older houses have passed from the hands of their proprietors into the possession of the newly rich. Park Lane at one time was considered to be the home of the country's great ruling class only. To-day, almost every large house is inhabited by either a Jewish stockbroker or an African millionaire. Pecuniary pressure has forced the former proprietors into smaller houses or flats, or that strange compromise now known as a maisonette, which is simply a fine word for living over a shop.

The absence of privacy is again another marked social change in the life of the inhabitants of the West End. In earlier days, the reticent announcement that such and such a family had left London was all that appeared about people who occupied great positions, but nowadays the interviewer invades their morning-room at eleven o'clock. Every detail of their lives is known; they are asked their opinion on the best books, the best flowers, the worst plays, the position of women, the position of men; in fact, the dissection of every taste, habit, idea, is *de rigueur*. Nothing is withheld; even the details of life's great-

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est emotions are freely demanded, or the relation of the most momentous event that has influenced them. Everything is laid bare before the operators of the press. A large portion of society spends its time in reading with interest what the other half wears, does, thinks, plays at, in order to imitate it as nearly as possible. This modern mania for publicity has broken down the seclusion of domestic life, and with this same emancipation from all reserve has come a want of restraint in conversation which was formerly unknown. Decorum is almost extinct. There is scarcely any subject that is not discussed at society's dinner-table, no illness that is not mentioned, no story that is not told.

A well-known writer in a delightful book on society, speaking of this, gives an illustrative anecdote which came before his own notice. A lady was sending her youngest boy to our public school at Eton, and in talking over his new life she gave him the sagest of all mother's counsels, "Never listen to anything which you would not wish your sisters to hear." He gazed at her with awe-struck eyes and then replied with emotion: "I should think not, indeed, mother! If Polly and Kitty could not hear it, it must be awful." The young girl of the present day in many social circles is as free in her conversation and as emancipated in her ideas as the brother who formerly had to guard her innocence and restrain his conversation in her presence.

All these changes which have affected British

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society so deeply can not be traced to any one cause, much less to any one set of men, although the "newly arrived" social leaders have often been blamed with bringing them about by undiscerning critics. At any rate, the representatives of the great financial houses have come to stay and must be reckoned with as a social factor in the future.

It is in a way curious that these men who have been all their lives engrossed in money-making should aspire to social recognition. Their motives are not in all cases the same. A few, no doubt, have become tired of business activity and yet do not wish to pass into the sort of mediocrity which involves no struggle. Used to climbing, day by day, in their business affairs, they must have some aim, some ambition, after retirement from financial circles. And so society attracts them. But it is more often the ambition of the women of the household which impels to a social campaign of lavish expenditure. To many women any charmed circle to which they are not admitted has an attractiveness from the very fact of the difficulty of entrance to it.

Then, too, the young Englishman who is forced to go to South Africa or the other colonies for his livelihood rarely regards his situation as a permanent one. He thinks of England as his home and is ambitious to return to it and establish his family there permanently, and the surest way of accomplishing this object is an alliance with one of the prominent families in reduced circumstances, or an entrance

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into society by means of wealth. What is true of British society is also true of society in the United States. The fashionable set in New York is very much more largely recruited from the wealthy families than from those whose main claim to prominence is the possession of an ancient name.

And yet American society offers a far less diversified and interesting life than does British society. The great families of England have vast estates to manage, tenants dependent upon them, and a score of other responsibilities. Then, too, the society woman of London is frequently a keen political partizan. She follows closely the careers of public men and often is so thoroughly posted in the affairs of the nation that she can criticize parties and politics with insight and keenness. American society, on the other hand, not only takes no part in political affairs, but is not at all backward in affecting a total ignorance of the subject. Even the men show only lukewarm, passing interest, and rarely run for office. There is a tendency among them to regard politics as a business to be handed over to the professional politician, not as an intimate concern of their own. Thus it is that in London society may be found the most prominent men of affairs, while New York society is scarcely interested in anything or any one outside of its own more or less narrow limits.

West London presents a picture which is full of danger and difficulty. In old days, after the season was over, as I have already said, families traveled

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back again to their country homes, their round of quiet duties, their accountability toward dependents on great estates, which made them to a large extent realize the responsibility of existence. It would have been thought impossible for the members of a family to be absent from church on Sundays without an adequate reason, even though they probably would profess no special personal religion. This was at any rate the acknowledgment of a God and of a power higher than their own, a world beyond their little world. Now, by train or motor, the smart set rushes from London. Sunday is spent in expeditions, boating and bicycling. Formerly, the family dinner used to consist of sort of an abbreviated meal in the evening in order to allow the servants to go to church. Now, an elaborate feast of many courses is succeeded by a late supper. It has been well said that the society existence of West London begets a life which is absolutely divorced from duty. In fact, it has come to be regarded as a sin, in a certain set, to take any concern of life seriously.

Carlyle once said that there is no class among us intrinsically so valuable and so recommendable as our aristocracy. I am led to believe that if this is true of latter-day London society, it is now largely due to the many and the much-discussed marriages of wealthy American girls to titled Englishmen. Our British aristocracy has replenished its exchequer, perhaps, by means of them, but it has done something more. Through them it has brought home new vital-

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ity, fresh outlook, and great vigor. There is an awakening among hundreds to the needs of their fellow men. There is a quicker concept of the eternal truth of the great brotherhood of the race, and that has sent many young men from the universities to the Settlements of East London, many women to devoted work among those of less opportunity than themselves. We live in a tradition period. The institutions of the past are re-forming themselves on new models, and at such transition times the worst is often emphasized while the best is evolving.[k]

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CHAPTER XII

RECENT IMPRESSIONS OF THE ENGLISH

THE stranger in London to-day, when he stands at the foot of Nelson's column in Trafalgar Square, may congratulate himself upon the fact that he has reached the very core and center of the greatest empire which the world has ever seen, and at the moment of the greatest power which that empire has thus far attained.

It is no wonder, then, that London, the heart of the Empire, throbs with the sense of imperial power. A London paper speaks, with pardonable pride, of "a vitality pulsating from the center to the extremities of the empire, which will enable England, if she be true to her task, to hold between contending combinations the balance of the world." People call Paris gay and London gloomy, but these epithets no longer apply. The dreadful wounds inflicted upon the self-respect of France have dimmed the gayety and sharpened the temper even of Paris; whereas in London every one, old and young, feels himself to be a component part of a mighty empire.

But there is another side to this picture. England, though triumphant in war and strong in the devotion of her colonies, has begun to tremble for her commercial supremacy. Shrewd observers, men who have gone behind the scenes, report that the trade of Lon-

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don is declining, and that the metropolis is beginning to live upon past earnings. In manufactures England is being hard pressed by Germany, and still more by the United States.

Does this compel us to conclude that the British Isles have passed the climax of their prosperity and have entered upon the down-hill path? The answer to that question depends upon the answer to another, — namely, are the English deteriorating in character or in energy? For I assume, despite the brilliant theories of Mr. Brooks Adams, that this is the sole cause of national decay; that no commercial policy or financial system, however erroneous, can work the ruin of a race which retains its moral and physical stamina.

Do our British cousins, then, show any signs of moral or physical decadence? If we may trust so keen an observer as the late Mr. G. W. Stevens, himself a patriotic Englishman, there are such signs. "Compared with our ancestors," he said, "we do not drink so well, love so well, fight so well; physically and emotionally we have subdued ourselves to a lower plane."

If there be any decadence in the English, it is a decadence which they share with the rest of the civilized world, and it is possible that what they have lost in some directions they have gained in others. The whole world is, as Mr. Stevens put it, "subdued to a lower plane." People have become more temperate, less childlike, more reasonable; and undoubtedly with

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the development of the nervous system and of the imagination there has been a loss of animal courage; but it may have been more than supplied by an increase of moral courage.

No one can come in contact with the English of to-day and conclude that they lack courage or energy. England is suffering rather from misdirected, or unapplied, energy. She is in the position of a man who, having enjoyed for many years a large income, continues, after his income has diminished, to live extravagantly and idly. The number of superfluous luxuries which a wealthy Englishman gathers about him is appalling: an army of servants, more horses than he can use, houses in town and country, kitchens like laboratories, bathrooms like plumbers' shops; canes for every sort of walk; bags, trunks, waterproofs, blankets, rugs, binocular glasses, and a thousand other things that tend to make life complicated, material, and unsatisfactory.

Nor is indulgence in luxuries confined to the rich. The typical Englishman puts nothing aside. At Manchester the working-classes are famous for buying the first of the early vegetables; and among the same class all over the kingdom the use of alcoholic liquors is excessive.

Even the love of sports and of outdoor exercise is now carried to an excess. It involves the expenditure of more time, more energy, and more money than the English can afford. Horse-racing is worse, for it involves gambling. Such are some of the ways in

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which John Bull is endangering his position in the world. He eats and drinks too extravagantly, and he neglects his business to amuse himself.

But there is another drag upon John Bull, the effect of which is very little understood in this country — I mean the aristocracy. To the imagination of an American, the English aristocracy figures as a kind of ornamental thing, furnishing some gifted statesmen and many brave soldiers, but chiefly useful as a theme for the novelist and as an exemplar of good manners and good "form." The English themselves are apt to look upon it in this light; and even so hard-headed a man as the late Benjamin Jowett gravely remarked, "I do not think we can afford to give up aristocracy as an element of national education." The aristocracy may be all this,— though a keen observer declares that English duchesses have the worst manners in the world,— but it is also something more and something worse. It is a contrivance for putting second- and third-class men into places that should be occupied by first-class men.

This is most apparent in the army. All the correspondents and military critics who dealt with the South African War, whether friendly or hostile to the English, were agreed upon one point; namely, that the English officers, as a class, were supremely brave, but also supremely stupid, careless, and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions. The inefficiency of the English officers is due mainly to the fact that the army is an aristocratic institution. An officer

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in a crack regiment must have a private income of at least $4,000 per annum, in addition to his pay; and unless he has a certain social standing, he would not be tolerated in the mess. Young men join the army not as a profession, but as a kind of sporting club. At a dinner party in London there was an officer lately returned, wounded, from the war. He was of the extreme "haw, haw" English type; and he declared that "South Africa" was a "beastly place." There was really no amusement there until Lady Fitzdoodle came out and gave afternoon teas. Then it was "rather nice." What could such a soldier accomplish if he were pitted against an alert foreigner keenly interested in his profession, looking to it for his bread and butter, and eager for promotion?

To a great extent the officers of the government are selected upon the same aristocratic theory. The administration, like the army, is still in many respects a feudal institution. It does not gather to itself the best talent of modern, practical England; and hence its blunders. What is to be thought of a government which, though it foresaw, months if not years before the event, the clouds of war gathering over South Africa, yet sent its troops into the field armed with obsolete toy weapons, which carried about half as far as the Mausers of the Boers?

It is impossible to believe that such a government represents the best abilities, the real energy, of the English people. It is a stupid government because

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it is an aristocratic government. At least half the members of the House of Commons belong to the aristocratic class, and many of them are the sons of peers. In 1886 one-quarter of them bore titles. It is a significant fact that the English ministry, at least whenever the Conservatives are in power, is always largely composed of Eton men. They go to Eton as boys because it is an aristocratic school! and afterward they get into Parliament, and thence into the ministry, because their wealth enables them to dispense with professional work, and because their birth recommends them to constituencies. On the other hand, to find a Rugby man you will search the roll of the British ministry almost in vain, for Rugby is a middle-class school. The one graduate of Rugby who has distinguished himself in Parliament is Mr. Goschen; and he did not do so until he had made a large fortune in the city.

The aristocracy is so deeply rooted in the respect and even in the affections of the country, its public services have been so great, and the character of many of its representatives is so high, that its abolition is perhaps neither to be expected nor desired. But John Bull must find some way to prevent its acting as an extinguisher; he must select his servants and agents for their talents and not for their birth, or else he is likely to be outstripped in the race for commercial and even for military supremacy.

The most striking difference between the English people of to-day and those of twenty-five years ago

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is that the old feeling of perfect satisfaction with everything English has passed away. Even the country gentry are becoming alive to the deficiencies of their political and social systems.

John Bull, then, being for the first time in some hundreds of years alive to his deficiencies, and his stamina being, as I believe, unimpaired, it seems reasonable to conclude that he will continue to hold his place in the world. His climate remains to him, and the climate of England, uncomfortable and depressing though it may be in the dark months, is, nevertheless, a guaranty of physical strength.

An Englishman eats four sheep per annum; a Frenchman, only one and a half. A London doctor, who numbers among his patients many French residents, told me that for them he usually prescribed only about one-half of the dose which he would give to a Briton. It has been found that certain racehorses, both trotters and runners, which were known in this country as delicate feeders, upon being exported to England picked up an appetite and became stouter and stronger, and therefore speedier.

Hawthorne said: "These Englishmen are certainly a franker and simpler people than ourselves, from peer to peasant; but if we take it as compensatory on our part (which I leave to be considered) that they owe these noble and manly qualities to a coarser grain in their nature, and that with a finer one in ours we shall ultimately acquire a

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marble polish of which they are unsusceptible, I believe that this may be the truth."

Here we touch upon what seems to be the fundamental difference between the English and American people. The English have in their nature a foundation of barbarism, which Americans, owing perhaps to the greater development of their nerves and sensibilities, have left behind. The English, though the older people, are much the more primitive, closer to that vigorous savage from whom, after all, the dynamic force of a race is derived. Hence it is that England, far more than America, is a land of extremes — extremes of ignorance and grossness, extremes of cultivation and refinement. The race which has produced Shakespeare, Sir Isaac Newton, and Darwin is notorious for the stupidity and ignorance of its peasantry.

But that same peasant is a jewel in the rough. One of the most sagacious of modern writers has observed, "It is not the nature of the aristocrat that permeates the cottager, but the nature of the cottager that permeates the aristocrat." The English cottager has contributed to the English aristocrat a moral and physical nature so robust that the aristocrat can safely be put through the process of cultivation without having the substance of his character tried out of him. Parental training, the public school, the university, refined surroundings and traditions, religion and morality, the pride of birth and of family — these and other influences brought

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to bear for several generations will finally produce the English gentleman. The process is long in proportion to the roughness of the material, and much longer than it is with us.

There is one thing, and perhaps only one, which can greatly abridge the process of making an English gentleman, and that is the possession of genius. Keats, the most delicate and fastidious of poets, was the son of a butcher. Genius, in fact, springs most luxuriantly from a wild soil. Turner, the most imaginative and ethereal of painters, was a man of low origin and gross habits. "No great poet," writes Mr. John Burroughs, "ever appeared except from a race of good fighters, good eaters, good sleepers, good breeders." The problem of civilization is to train and cultivate the "noisy, sensual savage" existing in every man, without refining away those instincts of pride, of pugnacity, of pity, which make men strong and effective; and perhaps the English, of all races in the world, have come the nearest to doing this.

It is a significant fact, well worth considering, that in respect to mental activity England bears the same relation to Scotland that it does to the United States. Both in Scotland and in the United States the average of intelligence is far higher than it is in England; but I think we must admit that in the nobler departments of intellectual achievement we also are as yet inferior to the English. The standard, both in literature and in the fine arts, is higher in England than it is here. It is the very same in re-

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spect to oratory. The average of the speaking in the House of Commons is lower than it is in the American House of Representatives, but the best English speakers surpass the best American speakers. Even the judicial opinions of the English judges are better expressed than those of our judges — more racy and spontaneous, more literary. In learning generally, especially in theology, there can be no question of English superiority.

But it is only in these higher branches that we are excelled by the English. The moment that you pass from pure science to applied science, or from science to the practical art in which it results, that moment the tables are turned, and the American becomes the superior. In surgery, which is both a science and an art, both speculative and practical, we are probably on a par with the English; in civil or mechanical engineering, which is more practical and less theoretical, we excel the English; and in trade, in mechanics, in manufactures, in the everyday affairs of life, the American is infinitely more skilful, more rapid, more effective, than the Englishman.

The Englishman has none of that all-around mental activity which distinguishes the American. He knows only one thing — that by which he earns his living; and he does not desire to know anything else; far less is he ashamed of not knowing it. A London policeman, if you ask him about some distant street or building of importance, will reply civilly, but unabashed, "I can't tell you, sir; that is not in my beat."

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An American policeman would know the fact, and if he did not know it, he would feel called upon to apologize for his ignorance.

In a remote Maine village there was recently some occasion for a plumber, and a very good one was forthwith improvised from a carpenter. Such a thing would be impossible in England. Many a New England farmer can build or repair his barn, paint and plaster his house, "tinker" his mowing-machine, shoe his horse, doctor his cow, break his colt, row or sail his boat, "butcher" his pig, shear his sheep, skin a fox, track a deer, hive bees, serve as guide or lumberman, play the fiddle, solve a problem in arithmetic, make a good speech in town meeting, and do a hundred other things besides. There is probably not a man in all England who can do half so many things. The American is quick-witted, has far more general intelligence and information, and is therefore by far a better workman.

In order rightly to understand the past or reasonably to conjecture the future history of England one must remember that the British Empire has been created not mainly by the intellectual, but rather by the moral, qualities of the English. Upon this point one finds writers the most diverse expressing themselves in words nearly the same. "The English did not calculate the conquest of the Indies," said Emerson; "it fell to their character."[1]

(THE END)

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AUTHORSHIP OF CHAPTERS

a, b, c, d, and *i,* Edwin Hodder, in "*The Life of a Century,*" published by George Nevins, London, England.

e, Evelyn Clough.

f, M. C. Tyler.

g, *Review of Reviews.*

h, Jacob Tison.

j, *English Illustrated Magazine.*

k, Lady Henry Somerset, in *Cosmopolitan.*

l, Henry Childs Merriman, in *Harper's Magazine.*

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